

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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THE W.S.P.U.: "One or two more shots and we'll have it down."

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To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom; to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it; to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

In place of "The Outlook" we give a summary of the events of the year, but direct special attention to the success of the W.S.P.U. in the Scottish by-elections and also to the severe sentences passed on Mr. Ball at Bow Street (see pp. 211 and 212).

THE STORY OF 1911.

When the year 1911 opened sixteen members of the Women's Social and Political Union and one member of the Men's Political Union (Mr. Franklin) were in prison for the part they had taken in the demonstration of the previous November. Another member of the M.P.U. (Mr. Hawkins) was in hospital with a leg broken by the violence of the stewards at a Liberal meeting in Bradford. A General Election had just

taken place, but the members of the new Parliament had not yet taken their seats. Though Mr. Birrell, Sir Edward Grey, and Mr. Runciman had all told women to concentrate upon the year 1911, the only promise given by Mr. Asquith had been that some time in the new Parliament effective facilities should be provided for the Conciliation Bill; as no definite year was specified the W.S.P.U. rightly regarded this pledge as worthless.

The Opening of Parliament.

The King's Speech was read on February 6, and contained a promise of the Parliament Bill, an Old Age Pensions Amendment Bill, an Insurance Bill, and Payment of Members, but no mention was made of Woman Suffrage. Moreover, Mr. Asquith announced that he intended to take the whole time of the House until Easter. In the ballot the first three places were secured by members of the Conciliation Committee—Mr. Phillips, an Irish Member, who subsequently withdrew; Sir George Kemp, and Mr. Goulding. Sir George Kemp selected May 6 as the date for the Second Reading Debate on the Conciliation Bill.

The Treatment of the Women's Deputation.

Shortly after the meeting of Parliament the Conciliation Committee decided to demand a public inquiry into the treatment by the police of the women's deputation of the previous November, and in support of this demand they issued a Memorandum setting out a number of very serious charges, testified to by over a hundred statements of the women concerned. This inquiry was refused by Mr. Churchill, who defended the police conduct and his own action in the matter, claiming first that he had given no instructions to the police at all, and secondly that the instructions that he had given had been misunderstood. He swept away all the evidence of maltreatment with the simple assertion that they proceeded from that "Cupids

fountain of mendacity, the Women's Social and Political Union."

Two Men Suffragists Fed By Force.

On March 1, Mr. Abbey, a member of the Men's Political Union, made an attempt to reach the room in which the Cabinet Council were sitting, in order to protest against the treatment of women. In climbing the wall he was arrested by the police, and on refusing to be bound over to keep the peace, was sent to prison for 21 days. Though he had not been guilty of any violence, Mr. Churchill refused to treat him as a political prisoner, and when he adopted the hunger strike he was fed by force. In order to protest against this injustice Mr. Franklin threw a stone at the front door of Mr. Winston Churchill's house. For this he was arrested, and after being remanded for a week, bail being refused, he was sentenced to imprisonment for one month. He also adopted the hunger strike, and was forcibly fed during the whole period of his imprisonment.

Meeting in the Albert Hall.

On March 23 a monster meeting was held in the Royal Albert Hall, when the W.S.P.U. welcomed as a guest from Australia, Miss Vida Goldstein, President of the Women's Political Association of Victoria. In the hall the rousing March specially composed for the W.S.P.U. by Dr. Ethel Smyth was played for the first time, and a further sum of £6,000 was added to the Campaign Fund. The audience received with acclamation the news that the jury had awarded Mr. Hawkins £100 damages against the Liberal stewards for breaking his leg, and that the judge had laid down the law with regard to public meetings in a way that showed that the forcible ejection of those who interrupted the speakers had been illegal.

The Census Protest.

Sunday night, April 2, was the night on which the Census was taken. The W.S.P.U. had determined that as a protest against the continued government of

women without their consent they would, wherever it was possible, refuse to give the required particulars. Many women householders returned the Census form to the authorities without filling it up. Others took part in special schemes, by which the night was spent in such a way as to avoid enumeration. So large a number of people boycotted the Census in this way that Mr. John Burns saw that to prosecute the offenders would be to arouse widespread interest in the cause all over the country, and accordingly he announced on the following Wednesday that no proceedings would be taken against them. The success attained by means of the large numbers taking part gave women a taste of the power to be won by determined effort carried out on a large scale.

Second Reading of the Conciliation Bill.

On May 5 took place the second reading debate on the Conciliation Bill. Never before had the Opposition put up such a poor fight, and when it came to the division only 88 members voted against the Bill, while the number in favour amounted to no less than 255, a majority of 167. Provided, therefore, the Government could be induced to grant further facilities during the year, the prospect of the measure becoming law seemed thoroughly satisfactory.

The Lord Mayor at the Bar of the House.

Meanwhile, the Dublin Corporation, by 22 votes to 9, had decided that the Lord Mayor should proceed to the Bar of the House to plead with the Government to carry the Bill during the year. On May 12 this interesting ceremony took place, and a very great impression was made. This occasion exhibited the nature of the press boycott, which was at that time at its height, for though the ceremony was of special interest as a revival of an ancient custom, the papers contrived to cut down the space allotted to it to a few inches. The Lord Mayor received a very hearty welcome from the W.S.P.U. on his arrival in London, and spoke at a special dinner in his honour given on the subsequent evening, when several hundred people, representative of all the Suffrage societies, were present.

A Week for the Bill in 1912.

On May 29 Mr. Lloyd George gave the answer of the Government to the demand for facilities for the Conciliation Bill, but stated that these would not be forthcoming during the year 1911, but that the Government were prepared to give a week in 1912. Questioned as to whether this week would be extended if it did not prove sufficient, and whether opportunities for employing the closure would be allowed, Mr. Lloyd George said that he could not go any further than he had already done. This highly unsatisfactory statement was somewhat improved on June 21 by Sir Edward Grey, who, it will be remembered, had told women to concentrate on 1911. Sir Edward Grey stated that the week in 1912 would be somewhat elastic and that closure facilities would be provided.

Mr. Asquith's Pledge.

The W.S.P.U. were, however, still unsatisfied, and all preparations for a militant protest were made. On the eve of a great procession of women to the Albert Hall, Mr. Asquith wrote a letter to Lord Lytton in which he further amplified the statement which had been made, definitely promising for 1912 an elastic week, satisfactory closure facilities, and that the promise would be carried out in the spirit as well as in the letter. In view of this statement, by which the Government undertook to withdraw their veto on the Bill in 1912, the W.S.P.U. decided to refrain from militant action and to concentrate upon securing for the Conciliation Bill not merely a great majority on its Second Reading, but also a solid phalanx which would resist wrecking amendments in Committee.

The Great Procession.

On Saturday, June 17, took place a great procession of all the Suffrage Societies organised by the Women's Social and Political Union. This procession was remarkable alike for its surpassing beauty, its outstanding magnitude, and its wonderful and complete organisation. For nearly three hours the serried ranks marched past, five abreast, extending over seven miles in length, a veritable army of women demanding the vote. The W.S.P.U., alone, held a great meeting which filled every available space in the vast Albert Hall and an overflow meeting in the Empress Rooms, Kensington, and a further sum of £4,000 was raised for the campaign fund.

The By-Elections.

Previous to Mr. Asquith's promise the W.S.P.U. had pursued the By-election policy of opposition to the Government candidates, and in consequence they had secured the defeat of Major Mathias at Cheltenham, converting the majority of 93 in his favour to an adverse majority of four votes. But in view of Mr. Asquith's promise, apparently opening the door for the Bill to be carried through the House in 1912, they decided to change their policy and to let their decision rest in each case upon the consideration of the attitude of the individual candidates to the Conciliation Bill. Accordingly, in Central Hull they gave their assistance to the Liberal candidate, Sir R. Aske, a supporter of the Bill, while in Bethnal Green they opposed Mr. Masterman, a member of the Government, who

declared his intention of supporting amendments, even though in view of the Conciliation Committee they would prove fatal to its passage. Mr. Masterman's majority was reduced from 682 to 159.

Mr. Lloyd George's Attempts at Wrecking.

Towards the end of July, Mr. Lloyd George advised the Parliamentary Committee of Liberal Suffragists to ballot in 1912 for a wider measure of woman suffrage and to claim the promise of the Prime Minister on behalf of that Bill, and on August 18 he stated in the House of Commons that Mr. Asquith's promise would apply to any Bill with an open title. This was resented by the W.S.P.U. because they realised that in this way a really practical scheme might be replaced by a fancy measure which would have no chance of being carried into law. In consequence a vigorous agitation was set on foot. In the end Mr. Asquith wrote another letter to Lord Lytton in which he made it clear that his promise referred to the Conciliation Bill and that Bill alone. Meanwhile from all over the country came the news that County Councils were urging the House of Commons to pass the Conciliation Bill, these including the important councils of Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Dublin, Birmingham, Newcastle, Cork, Edinburgh, and over 100 others.

The Insurance Bill.

The W.S.P.U. carried out a vigorous attack upon the provisions of the Insurance Bill, which are fundamentally unjust to women. Incidentally, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence aroused very great interest by a leading article in the issue of this paper for July 21, in which she asked the question "Does a Man Support His Wife?" and brought home by her answer to the man and woman in the street a new point of view in political economy. The attention of women was also directed to the doings of Parliament by the attempt to exclude women from work at the pit-brow by a clause in the Coal Mines Bill.

Miss Clemence Housman.

Miss Clemence Housman on September 29 was arrested for refusal to pay her taxes, and was sent to Holloway. As the law fixes no term to the length of imprisonment in these cases, there was considerable question as to how long the Government would think fit to detain her. However, after a week she was released, and the maxim that a Government cannot exist without the consent of the governed was once again vindicated.

A New Departure in Journalism.

A new departure in journalism was made by the *Standard* newspaper on October 3 in opening its columns regularly to a woman's page. Among the earlier numbers were articles from Lady Selborne, Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, while Mrs. Humphry Ward contributed three articles from the Anti-suffrage point of view which were answered by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. The value of this daily page in a prominent newspaper cannot be over-estimated. A very large number of women decided at once to become regular readers, and have been enabled through its columns to follow from day to day the ever changing political situation of the Suffrage movement.

The United States.

On October 4 Mrs. Pankhurst started for a lecturing tour in the United States, and while she was still on the ocean, polling took place in California on the "equal suffrage" amendment. The result appeared to be going against the women, but when the full figures were made known, it was found that the amendment had been carried by a majority of several thousands. California is the sixth state of America to grant the suffrage to women, and by the passage of the amendment about 400,000 women are placed on the register. Mrs. Pankhurst's first meeting was held in Brooklyn, New York, on October 17, when three or four thousand persons obtained admission, filling the hall to its utmost capacity.

Women and Irish Home Rule.

On October 13 the Irish Women's Franchise League passed an important resolution demanding the inclusion of women in the Irish Home Rule Bill, and the W.S.P.U. gave their hearty support to this resolution. An unofficial Government reply was made by "P. W. W.", who gave in the columns of the *Daily News* a forecast of the Bill, in the course of which he said that the register would probably be Manhood Suffrage, and that it was very unlikely that women would find a place on it.

The Announcement of Manhood Suffrage.

This tentative announcement was followed by a definite statement of the Prime Minister, to the effect that the Government would introduce and press through all its stages in 1912 a Manhood Suffrage Bill, and that the question of Woman Suffrage would be left to the fortunes of an amendment. He added that if no such amendment was carried his promise for time for the Conciliation Bill still held good. The W.S.P.U. at once realised that this statement completely transformed the whole situation, and made the Conciliation Bill, even if it could be obtained, not worth having. They charged Mr. Asquith with breaking the spirit of his promise, and Mr. Lloyd George, who was known to have initiated the proposal, with

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having deliberately destroyed the Conciliation Bill. They decided to send a deputation to wait upon these two Ministers on Tuesday, November 21.

The Deputation Received.

For the first time Mr. Asquith decided to receive a deputation of the W.S.P.U., and fixed Friday, November 17, for the purpose. On the preceding night the W.S.P.U. held another great meeting of women in the Albert Hall and carried by an overwhelming majority a resolution demanding the withdrawal of the Manhood Suffrage Bill and the substitution of a Bill giving equal franchise rights to men and women. A further sum of £4,000 was raised towards the campaign fund. On the following day Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George received the representatives of the W.S.P.U. and other Suffrage Societies; Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence formulated the claim of the Union while other Societies urged a different point of view. Mr. Asquith in his reply did not modify his original statement of the position.

The Great Demonstration.

In consequence the W.S.P.U. decided to make a great demonstration on the following Tuesday, November 21. A meeting was held in the Carlton Hall, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence led a large number of women to Parliament Square. A conflict with the police occurred, and many of them, including Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, were arrested. At the same time other women deliberately broke the windows of the Government offices and of other buildings in the vicinity. Altogether 220 women and 3 men were arrested.

The Trials and Sentences.

The trials at the police court lasted from day to day during the whole of the following week, and sentences ranging from five days to two months were passed on the prisoners. Twenty-one women were committed for trial, and subsequently at Newington Sessions nineteen of these were sent to prison for two months, the other two being acquitted. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence herself received one month's imprisonment without the option of a fine, but owing to an irregularity in her trial a writ of *cetiorari* was applied for, and a rule nisi was granted and she was released on bail. The hearing is expected to take place in the Divisional Court some time in the new year.

Speeches of Cabinet Ministers.

Meanwhile, at Bath, Mr. Lloyd George spoke on the question of Woman Suffrage and gloriéd in the fact that he had "torpedoed" the Conciliation Bill. On November 29 Mr. Asquith had arranged to address a meeting in the City Temple, but, though he essayed to speak, he was prevented from completing one single sentence by the constant interruption of Woman Suffragists, and he finally decided to leave the meeting. This action of the W.S.P.U. roused considerable criticism, but demonstrated the power and determination of women who were still denied the justice of the Parliamentary franchise.

The Fête and Fair.

The first week in December the W.S.P.U. held an exceedingly successful entertainment at the Portman Rooms, which were converted for the time being into the semblance of an old English village. For six days the Fair was open, and over seven thousand people visited it and purchased from the numerous stalls. A very delightful opportunity was provided of social intercourse, and altogether the sum of £3,500 was secured for the funds of the Union.

"Differences" in the Cabinet.

On December 14 Mr. Asquith received a deputation of Anti-Suffragists to whom he explained that though he would regard the passage of a Woman Suffrage measure as a political disaster he had nevertheless agreed to the procedure decided upon by the Cabinet—an announcement which certainly gives the impression that Mr. Asquith does not expect this procedure to eventuate in the giving of votes to women. On the following Saturday, December 16, Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Edward Grey addressed a meeting of Liberal women at the Horticultural Hall and adumbrated their proposals. But though they gave many arguments in favour of Woman Suffrage they failed to indicate how they expected their proposed amendment to be carried or to justify the settlement of the question on the basis of inequality—unlimited franchise for men, and a limited franchise for women—which they proposed.

Prospects for the Future.

The Women's Social and Political Union, accordingly, holding that the only satisfactory means of securing enfranchisement for women is by the rejection of the Manhood Suffrage Bill, find themselves still in determined opposition to the Government. In this they are supported by several other Suffrage Societies and by the I.L.P., which recognises that the duty of the Government is to introduce a measure giving equal franchise rights to both sexes. With the growing strength of the Union, and the growing feeling in the country of the justice of their claim, the W.S.P.U. looks forward to the year 1912 with the knowledge that a strenuous fight is in prospect, but that victory in the not far distant future is assured.

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THE YEAR'S HISTORY OF



1.—WOMEN VERSUS THE GOVERNMENT.

Australia sends advice to the Prime Minister.

(The Australian Senate recently cabled to Mr. Asquith, pointing out to him the desirability of conferring the Franchise upon women.)
(January 20, 1911.)



2.—THE LIBERAL STORES.

WINDOW DRESSING.

Shopman Asq.—thi: "MUST we put this in the window?"
(February 3, 1911.)



3.—FOR THESE WE FIGHT.

No. 1.—The Widow.

(February 10, 1911.)



7.—SATURDAY, JUNE 17.

Father Thames watching the Great Procession of Women marching five abreast to the Albert Hall, Empress Rooms and Kensington Town Hall.
(June 16, 1911.)



8.—THE COMING TOTAL ECLIPSE OF THE ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS.

"It is the duty of the National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage to stir up people from their apathy . . . there is very great risk that the Conciliation Bill will be rushed through Parliament . . ."
—Lord Croker.
(July 14, 1911.)



9.—CUCKOO TACTICS.

"Cuckoo tactics will not succeed. The suffrage bird is not so easily dislodged."—Miss Christabel Pankhurst in *Votes for Women*.
(August 4, 1911.)



13.—THE DRUMS OF THE FORE AND AFT.

With apologies to the painter of the well-known picture, "The Drums of the Fore and Aft," Mr. E. Matthew Hale.

"The Arch-priest of the Suffrage Movement, Mrs. or Miss Pankhurst—I forget which—at the Albert Hall recently said the Anti-Suffragists were dead. It is our business to show our opponents that we are very much alive. I therefore earnestly hope the appeal I am making for help all over the country will not be in vain."—Lord Croker.
(September 29, 1911.)



14.—GOVERNMENT WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED IS IMPOSSIBLE.

Mr. Lloyd George: "You know we cannot go on paying this week by week for ever."
Mr. Winston Churchill: "Well, then, you will have to let her out." (And he did.)
(Miss Clemence Housman, who had been imprisoned for refusing to pay her taxes, was released on October 6.)
(October 13, 1911.)



15.—THE VICTORY IN CALIFORNIA.

Uncle Sam: "I have the greatest pleasure in handing you this small token of my esteem and respect."
John Bull (aside): "I shall have to hurry up and enfranchise the women of my country or I shall get left behind."
(October 20, 1911.)



19.—THE PLAY ACTOR.

Mr. Lloyd George (Stage Manager) and Harry Heslop (Actor), arranging with his colleague, Mr. Asquith, the famous duel scene in the Suffrage Melodrama at the Westminster Music Hall: "At this point I shall shout 'For Honour and the Women!' and advance to the fight. We shall fight fiercely, but in the end you will pierce me through the heart and I shall fall dead. After that the curtain will drop and we will go and have supper together."
(November 11, 1911.)



20.—SHADE OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

"Mr. Asquith, yield before it is too late! Remember, even the Iron Duke gave way."
The Duke of Wellington believed Ireland was on the verge of civil war, and so, after having for years strenuously resisted every step in the direction of Catholic Emancipation, himself led a measure for the purpose, and passed it. During the debate in the Upper House, he said: "I am one of those who have probably passed a longer period of my life engaged in war than most men and principally, I may say, in civil war; and I must say this, that if I could succeed, by any sacrifice whatever, even one month of civil war in the country to which I am attached, I would sacrifice my life in order to do it." "From 'The Consideration of the State of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century' by Leslie Lammie."
(November 24, 1911.)



21.—TORPEDOED!

"The Conciliation Bill has been torpedoed."—Mr. Lloyd George at Bath.
(December 1, 1911.)

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN CARTOON.



4.—A COPIOUS FOUNTAIN OF MENDACITY.
Master W.-not-n: "I don't want to be washed!"
"That copious fountain of mendacity, the Women's Social and Political Union."—Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL.

(March 17, 1911.)



5.—NO VOTE, NO CENSUS.
Mr. John Burns in his dual capacity as Cabinet Minister and Head of the Census Department.

(March 23, 1911.)



6.—CARRY THE BILL.
The Lord Mayor of Dublin at the Bar of the House, Friday, May 12, 1911.

(May 19, 1911.)



10.—A POLITICAL PICKPOCKET.
Mr. Lloyd George (to Anti-Suffragist M.P.): "I know you object to her voting for you, but you need not mind taking her money."

(August 18, 1911.)



11.—A PLEDGE IS A PLEDGE.
The W.S.P.U. attacks the Lloyd George Dragon and rescues the Conciliation Bill.

(September 1, 1911.)



12.—OVERLOADING THE CAMEL.
The Woman: "That added burden will prevent the camel from getting through, and I refuse to allow it."

(September 22, 1911.)



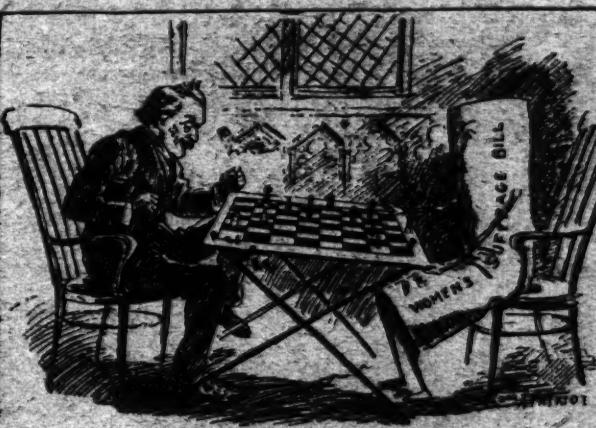
16.—WOMEN AND THE HOME RULE BILL.
"Shure and yer honour will be givin' the women av ould Oirland the same power as the vote you'll be after givin' the men."

(October 27, 1911.)



17.—ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS CONGRATULATE MR. LLOYD GEORGE.
Mr. Lloyd George has practically, one would think, given the quietus to that absurd measure, the Conciliation Bill.—Mrs. HUMPHREY WARD.
"The Conciliation Bill is doomed. That, in my view, is the net result of Mr. Lloyd George's declaration of policy."—Mr. A. MACMACHIN.

(November 3, 1911.)



18.—A GAME OF CHESS.
Woman Suffragist: "Check!"
Mr. Lloyd George (upsetting the board): "What about that for the next move?"
But Mr. Lloyd George will find that the Empress does not give the game to him.

(November 10, 1911.)



22.—APOTHEOSIS OF THE PREMIER.
(Eulogy of the Prime Minister by the critics who condemned the W.S.P.U. for breaking up the meeting at the City Temperance Hall.)

(December 8, 1911.)



23.—NO QUESTIONS.
Mrs. Ward (Mr. Lloyd George): "Remember, I do not permit you to ask me any questions."
(Then referring to Mr. Lloyd George's meeting in the Horticultural Hall at Liverpool on Friday, November 10, and in question)

(December 14, 1911.)



24.—HIS "CHRISTMAS PRESENT."
Mr. Lloyd George: "I'll go and give her this and you can throw the snowball at her while she's looking at the doll."

(December 22, 1911.)

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M. D. H.

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The spirit of adventure is just as strong in the normal girl as it is in the normal boy, and we can heartily recommend "The Girl Crusoes," by Mrs. Herbert Strang (Henry Frowde and Hodder and Stoughton, 3s. 6d.) as a New Year gift for a girl. When the three girls first suggested that Uncle Barton should take them on his last voyage, the good man was scandalised; on being pressed for reasons, however, and taunted with being "just like a man," he gave in to his nieces, and we are very grateful to him for being so sensible about it, and for thoughtfully disappearing altogether for a time, so as to give Mrs. Strang an opportunity of describing how the girl Crusoes lived on their desert island. Those of us who look back with affection on the "Masterman Ready" of our youth will thank Mrs. Strang for a racily written girl's story on similar lines. The coloured illustrations by N. Tenison add greatly to the attractiveness of this book.

CLEVER FINGERS.

"The 301 Things a Bright Girl Can Do," by Jean Stewart (Sampson Low, 6s. net), will indeed be a delight to the lucky damsel who receives it as a gift. The "things" are entertainingly varied, and range from hookey to morris-dancing, and from first steps in architecture to palmistry, not forgetting such feminine occupations as the knitting of slippers, sofa blankets and shawls; also the creation of Baby's First Bonnet! Information is given on every conceivable hobby a twentieth century girl can take up, and on the many and diverse points which arise in the daily life of the average girl. The clear and simple diagrams add so much to the utility of the book that even a "dull" girl could hardly fail to do each and all of the three hundred and one things dealt with therein.

SHAKESPEARE'S WOMEN.

"The woman a man loves must be his ideal; must correspond most intimately to all his desires, conscious and unconscious, as coin to die. She is his complement, and to condemn her is self-condemnation." So says Mr. Frank Harris in "The Women of Shakespeare" (Methuen, 7s. 6d. net), and he then goes on to expound what is, after all, but one man's theory, that Shakespeare's love for his "dark lady" was not merely an incident in his life, but that it dominated him and pervaded the greater part of his writings, that, in fact, there were but four women who entered in a conspicuous degree into the master poet's life, and that these four so affected his art that his many beautiful heroines were all portraits, not of different women, but of one or other of the four. The book is a cleverly written, seemingly clear exposition of this theory throughout, but that many readers will agree with it is rather too much to expect. Is it possible one woman could embody the many different qualities of Juliet, Beatrice, Portia and Rosalind? Be that as it may, the book is one that holds the reader's interest from beginning to end.

L. G. L.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Elizabeth Fry," by Marion Holmes, London: Women's Freedom League, price 3d. net.

"Is it Hard to be Free," by Harry Youlden, Liverpool: Church Officers of Pembroke Chapel, price 7d.

"The Altar of Moloch," by Kinaton Parkes, London: John Ousdale, Ltd., price 6s.

"A Little Pilgrim in Italy," by Olive M. Potter, London: Constable and Co., Ltd., price 12s. 6d. net.

"Under Western Skies," by Frances Sinclair, London: Sampson Low, price 6s.

* "Study No. Eleven: a Tale of Rilton School." By Margaret Kilroy. A. W. Faber and Sons, price 3s. 6d.

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THE WORLD WE LIVE IN.

The Women Clerks' Trade Union of Berlin, which has agitated for years for inclusion in the Imperial systems of pensions and insurances, has now, says the *Standard*, received the assurance that they are soon to be admitted on excellent terms. A feature of their last convention was a vigorous demand for Votes for Women.

The inquisition-like interference of the young King of Spain in the literary work of his aunt, the Infanta Eulalia, has drawn special attention to her new book. The Infanta is a strong feminist, and speaks out plainly for the independence of women. Here is a quotation from her book:—"It has been said that it is sufficient for a woman to be beautiful and a mother. This is perfumed nonsense. A woman has as much right to the complete development of her faculties as a man has." We hope that the book will be published. If it is we shall read it with great interest.

A good augury for the success of Woman Suffrage in the United States is made up by the splendid replies received by the Minnesota Suffrage Association from the various Governors of States. The Governors of the following important States: Illinois, Connecticut, Kansas, Kentucky, New Mexico, Virginia, Minnesota, Oregon, South Dakota, and North Dakota, have answered in entire favour of Woman Suffrage.

Every woman will rejoice in the artistic triumph achieved by Miss Margaret Lindsay Williams, who has won the Royal Academy gold medal and travelling studentship of £200, in addition to the first prize of £30 and silver medal, for a decoration for a public building. Miss Williams had already won the first medal for drawing from life, the Creswick prize of £30 for landscape, the second Armitage prize, and the prize of £25 for the cartoon. All these have been won in open competition with men. Ten out of the fourteen prizes awarded by the Royal Academy in the past twelve months have been won by women.

A feat that required nerve and a steady hand was performed the other day by Miss Lydia Akens, who climbed the lofty spire of Market Harborough Parish Church, and replaced the weather vane. Miss Akens is the daughter of the well-known steeplejack, Mr. J. T. Akens, and the *Daily Mirror* recently reproduced a picture of her taking photographs from a spire 220 feet from the ground.

Little Bessie Tutt, a young girl of thirteen, was recently presented with the Certificate of the N.S.P.C.C., given for brave services to little children sorely in need of them. The presentation was made at Minor Road School, Walworth, and Inspector Vine told how he was called to visit a case in which he found three children in a starved and terribly neglected condition. Bessie volunteered to help him. She went for milk, warmed it, heated water to wash the children, and then took care of them while the Inspector went to obtain an order for admission to the workhouse. Then Bessie called on one neighbour after another to get covering for the children, after walking a mile to fetch a cab for their removal. When the Inspector brought the baby downstairs, Bessie took the mite in her arms, and saying "How cold it is," took off her own frock to wrap round the child.

An interesting article on women in dentistry appeared in a recent issue of the *Dental Surgeon*. The writer says how well fitted women are for the work, because of their sympathy, their delicate touch, and their kindness, and concludes:—"There is a demand for women dentists that will not be filled in the next hundred years."

Miss Gertrude Bacon, who is well known as a balloonist, recently made a descent, in full diving dress, in the experimental tank at Messrs. Siebe, Gorman and Co.'s works.

A Canadian paper publishes an interesting account of three women members of the Finnish Diet, and it is interesting to note the following conclusion:—"They are good speakers, practical workers in social legislation, and are not at any time guided in their actions by mere unconsidered sentiment."

Led by a public school teacher, who is also President of the Women Teachers' Equal Rights Association, we are glad to see that, at last, the New York women teachers have secured equal pay with the men.

The annual report of the Wimbledon W.S.P.U. is most encouraging reading. It reflects great credit on the energy and enterprise of the workers. We note particularly the interesting subjects of the lectures, which embrace a wide scope of subjects. The financial result, with a turnover of £328, of which £130 is the year's balance, is most creditable, especially when it is remembered that this is only the third year.

At the National Union of Women Workers' meeting, Miss Potter, speaking on the disadvantages of women under the Insurance Bill, stated that the only public opinion that counts is that of votes.

It is stated that at the last municipal election in Leeds a schoolboy recorded his vote, evidently without protest from anyone.

A German Union of Suffrage Societies has recently been formed, with Frau Fischer-Holz as president.

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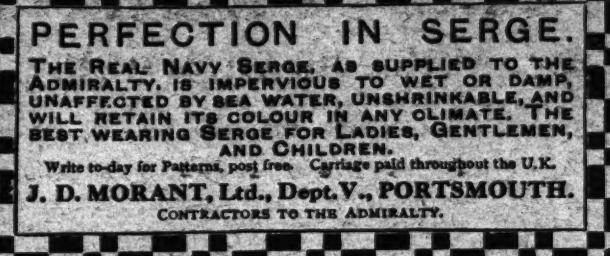
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"The POSITION of WOMEN in 1912."

By Miss MURIEL MATTERS.

See SPECIAL ARTICLE in the

"CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH"

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VOTES FOR WOMEN

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FRIDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1911.

ANOTHER RED HERRING.

Let us ask if a year ago, in electing a House of Commons, the electors really meant to authorise the members they chose to settle the question of Woman Suffrage. Surely the best and easiest way of settling this would be to have a Referendum on the point. This was suggested last week to Mr. Asquith. He pointed out that, whilst he was against the Referendum as a most undesirable innovation as part of our Constitutional machinery, he had always admitted that there might be cases in which it could properly be employed. That is exactly our own view, but the Prime Minister seemed to think a Referendum on Woman Suffrage out of the question, for the reason that it could only be made to the men of the existing electorate. Any adverse verdict given by men electors only would, he argued, be resented as misleading and unsatisfactory by the Woman Suffragists. No one likes an adverse verdict, of course, but where would be the logic of a refusal to accept it? Votes for Women must and can only come from the existing men electors, either directly, as by a Referendum, or indirectly through the House of Commons. For our part we think the advocates of Woman Suffrage need not fear the result of a Referendum for any moderate amendment to a Residential Franchise Bill.

In these words the *Westminster Gazette*, in its issue of Wednesday, December 20, throws over Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Edward Grey, throws over even Mr. Asquith himself, and plumps for the Referendum. As another red herring to draw across the path of Woman Suffrage it is, of course, a godsend; but as a piece of clear reasoning and sound logic, such as we have been taught to look for in the leading articles of our contemporary, it is a pitiful disappointment.

To begin with, the writer hurries over the fundamental objection of Woman Suffragists to acceptance of the result of a Referendum in any shape or form. If certain intelligent citizens demand a share in the government of their country, it is no answer to that demand to say that a majority of those citizens who already possess a share in that Government are not willing to extend it. To quote the famous illustration: If the red-headed men were outside the franchise, it would be no answer to their agitation for enfranchisement to say that the men with brown and black and yellow hair preferred to keep all power to themselves.

But, says the *Westminster Gazette*, whether it be ideally just or not that the question of Woman Suffrage should be decided by the men, as a matter of fact it is through the existing men electors that the vote must ultimately be given to women, if it is to be given at all. Why not then the direct appeal by Referendum instead of the indirect appeal to the electors' representatives in the House of Commons? This sounds at first specious enough, but it will not bear examination.

It is true, of course, that short of a successful *coup d'état* (by which the established Government is overthrown, and a new and totally different Government is set up in its place) every modification of the Constitution is derived from the existing Constitution by a process of evolution. Where, for instance, representative institutions prevail every extension of the franchise must be obtained by sanction of the Government of the day, which, in

its turn, rests on the support of the existing electorate. But it is not true (as the *Westminster Gazette* would have us believe) that the question at issue is which of two alternative methods shall be adopted of testing the will of the electorate—the direct method by a Referendum or the indirect method by a vote of the House of Commons. The question is whether a Woman Suffrage Bill shall have to overcome, as is the case with all other questions, the normal obstacles only—namely, passage through both Houses of Parliament—or whether it shall be placed in the unique position of being required first of all to overcome the normal obstacles of passage through both Houses of Parliament, and then in addition a further obstacle of a successful vote at a Referendum.

In thus rejecting the proposal to submit Woman Suffrage to a unique method of procedure, we express no view on the general question of the desirability of the Referendum as a permanent part of the Constitutional machinery. If it were so established in this country, it would be through this machinery of Government that women would perforce have to obtain their enfranchisement, as they did in California a few months back. This would not necessarily be to the disadvantage of Woman Suffrage. In those countries where the Referendum already exists, the Government does not place the same insuperable obstacles in the way of Constitutional change as it does in this country but leaves them to be decided by the electorate. Thus, in 1885, the Government would have had to submit its own franchise proposals to the electorate, and would in all probability have submitted Woman Suffrage at the same time with a successful result. Again, in 1910, the overwhelming support of the House of Commons would almost certainly have forced the Government to submit the Conciliation Bill to a Referendum, which would undoubtedly have been carried. But the salient fact is that the Referendum is not to-day part of the existing machinery of the Constitution, and unless and until it does become a normal part of the Constitution we shall resist the application to Woman Suffrage of any such special machinery.

It is certainly amazing that members of the Liberal Party who are opposed to the Referendum in general should recommend its adoption in the case of Woman Suffrage. We should have thought it was obvious that once the principle were admitted in an individual case it could not fail to be extended to all Constitutional questions. What argument, for instance, can possibly be adduced for applying the Referendum to Woman Suffrage and not applying it to Manhood Suffrage? Does the *Westminster Gazette* contemplate such a proposition?

Or, again, take the question of Home Rule for Ireland. This, like Woman Suffrage, is a Constitutional issue of fundamental importance involving far-reaching consequences; and though the Nationalists, like the women, would refuse to accept as final an adverse decision of a Referendum, yet Home Rule, like Woman Suffrage, "must and can only come from the existing men electors"—to use the words of the *Westminster Gazette*. Liberals believe that they have the support of the majority of the electors for Home Rule, yet they are not willing to submit a Home Rule Bill to a Referendum. Why? Firstly, because they say it is for the House of Commons and not for the electorate to decide on the precise form which Home Rule shall take; secondly, because it means in any case delay; and, thirdly, because they suspect that the whole proposal is simply a subtle way of choking Home Rule, and that its opponents hope that at some point in the procedure events may take a new turn which may prevent fulfilment. Precisely similar are the grounds on which Woman Suffragists oppose the application of a Referendum to the question of Votes for Women.

"I do not believe," said Mr. Asquith, "you would allay the agitation by any verdict so pronounced. I am not at all sure that you would not inflame and accentuate it and render it more embittered than before." That is the whole point. The Government, the *Westminster Gazette*, and the whole of the Liberal Press would have comfortably buried and forgotten Woman Suffrage long ago, and would do it to-day, or to-morrow, or next year, if it were not for the agitation. But because the agitation grows every day stronger and more determined, this question will have to be settled, and settled not by some device for postponement and evasion, but in the only way that can stop the agitation, which is by giving equal franchise rights to men and women.

E. W. Petnick Lawrence.

THE ROOT OF THIS PRESENT DISCONTENT.

By MRS. BRAILSFORD.

A Speech delivered at the London Pavilion, Monday, December 18.

As I look round this Hall to-day, I see with great joy the faces of women I last parted from within the walls of Holloway Prison, which I think we may now look upon as a castle of liberty from whose turrets our spotless flag is still flying to-day. Well, I wish I could give to people here, it may be strangers, some sort of impression of the feeling one had standing in a prison yard and looking round upon the 200 women who were there imprisoned for this great Cause. You saw there women of every sort, women of every class; women who were there upholding the historic traditions of great family names, and women who were there making new traditions of honour and defiance for the women wage-earners of the country. There were domestic servants; there were employers of labour; there were women writers; women novelists; there were the home makers, the mothers and nurses of the nation; all there together in that communion which is only possible to people who have sunk their own individual selves for a great Cause. As I looked round upon these women I said to myself, What does this Government, this liberty-loving Government, this democratic Government, imagine it is doing by having women like these shut up in gaol? By physical imprisonment it is only setting more free and spreading more and more widely the spirit that is in those women. We in this Movement all admit, of course, that a government cannot allow us to break its precious windows without making some sort of protest on its own behalf and without doing something to the women who have done that; but surely the business of statesmanship is not merely to look at the effect, but to look at the cause. What they ought to do is to ask themselves, "What is the root of this present discontent?" I am reminded of what Burke said once about another revolution, "It is no question of ours to ask whether what those people do is right or whether it is wrong; it is not for us to say, 'Do we approve of these things or do we disapprove of them?'" The great question for this country is, "What are you going to do with this spirit?" And that is the question for this Government to-day, "What are you going to do with this spirit?"

A Frivolous Government.

This Government that takes itself so very seriously seems to me the most frivolous Government that has ever held office. They say to us: "Dear lady, we are going to treat you with every leniency; we are going to be very kind to you in prison. You are going to have every comfort in Holloway." Does any sensible person think that women have carried on an agitation for years in order to be put comfortably to prison? Of course they have not.

Members of Parliament seem to think that they can induce us to lay down the weapons that we know are of use, by sending a protest as to the action of the Women's Social and Political Union. (Laughter.) These gentlemen are very sensitive about their broken windows, and very sympathetic about the thing that is hurt. How different about the women who were hurt last November! (Hear, hear.) People seem to think that we go out and take part in militant action in order that we may win certificates for bravery. (Laughter.) We find a paragraph in a paper saying that, after all, the Women's Social and Political Union have got courage. Friends, people who have not got courage have no right to live! We do not want compliments from people who in other ways are working against us. In the political world you see confusion and trouble and muddle-headedness on every side. You see Cabinet Ministers turned against Cabinet Ministers. You see Suffrage Societies torn internally and setting their own members at variance, and nobody to decide on what they should do. You see a sort of moral and political hell let loose, but if you turn to the Women's Social and Political Union you find them there with their house founded upon a rock; the same firmly planted flag and the same watchword of political freedom for women.

We are called upon to-day, friends, to be grateful, to be trustful. Gratitude and trust are most charming feminine qualities. They have been the grace and beauty of the Victorian age; but, friends, if we to-day were either grateful or trustful, I have no hesitation in saying it would show that we are, and deserve to remain, slaves, and people without any self-respect and without any knowledge of what self-respect really is. What are we to be grateful for? We are to be grateful for this Reform Bill—(Laughter)—this Bill in which the women may have a chance of being put in in the form of an amendment. We are to be trustful of the campaign that is going to be carried on by the Suffrage section of the Cabinet. Now, friends, you know what a confusion there was two or three weeks ago when it was first announced that we were going to have this wonderful campaign carried on by the Suffrage Ministers. We were to wait and hear. We were to wait for Mr. Lloyd George's great speech at Bath, and although we did not expect very much still we were anxious to hear

and know what Mr. Lloyd George's great scheme was. We were a little bit surprised that before Mr. Lloyd George made his speech at Bath, another Minister made a speech in Manchester, and he said he was going straight for the Conciliation Bill. This was Mr. Birrell. This was interesting, but rather more interest was excited when Mr. Lloyd George announced that he had torpedoed the Conciliation Bill. (Laughter.) Then Mr. Lloyd George wrote to the papers to say that he did not mean what he said; that he really did not know what he was saying because there were interruptions and questions. (Laughter.) Now, friends, if a responsible Minister has really made up his mind on a policy for Woman's Suffrage he is not going to forget what he meant to say because of interruptions and questions. I do not think you would find that Mrs. Lawrence or Miss Pankhurst would forget what they were going to say because there were interruptions. (Laughter.) As a matter of fact Mr. Lloyd George said nothing at all. He was very sympathetic; he was very pathetic. But we do not want pathos; and we did not want him to tell us that it was a shame women had no voice in the Insurance Bill.

Well, a few days later another Suffrage Minister wrote to the paper to say that we had behaved so badly that he did not think he could ever do anything more for us. He has changed his mind since that. (Laughter.) Why? Then we had another of our Suffrage Ministers telling us, all on his own, that we should get votes if we were good. We wonder what Mr. Churchill has got to say, but I suppose that Mr. Churchill at present is at sea. (Laughter.) But, after all, the most interesting feature of the whole situation is Mr. Asquith. Mr. Asquith has practically said that he wants to see his own Reform Bill torpedoed. If you notice, in his explanation to the Anti-Suffrage deputation, he really hopes that this Women's Amendment will be lost, through the action of the House of Lords. Well, the Women's Amendment is to be part and parcel of the Reform Bill once it passes the House of Commons, and if the Lords throw it out, the Reform Bill is thrown out too. You remember in the history of the past years how many times we were called upon by politicians who were real democrats, real Adult Suffragists, to ask for votes for all men and for all women. Where are those people to-day, and where are the Adult Suffrage newspapers? Was not the *Daily News* very unwilling to support the Conciliation Bill? The *Manchester Guardian* also believed in equal rights for men and for women. Where are all these forces that should have been with us and admitted that our demand is just, and that it was for every self-respecting democrat to say that it was right to give us what we were asking for?

The Struggle Not Over Yet.

We do not want any more to be betrayed or to be deceived, and I do feel personally that we have still before us a good deal of fighting to do. Do not let us be deceived any more. You know quite well that the difficulty in the days before this Movement was started, the reason why the Woman's Movement made, comparatively, no progress, was that the women who worked for it were very unwilling, naturally, to realise that the movement was a revolution; they thought that they could go on working for it constitutionally, between the old walls of the sanctions of the moralities and proprieties. Well, they failed, and it was only when the militant movement arose and brought a defiant element to bear upon this subject that real progress was made. We are told to-day by some of our best friends that we have passed the revolutionary period; that it is a misreading of the times to think that we must any longer go on fighting in the old way. Ladies and gentlemen, we are just waiting to make sure, and when it is clear to us that our Movement is past the stage of revolution, then it will be time to adjust ourselves. You have a Reform Bill to which women may be added; you have a proposition to enfranchise women as the belongings of their husbands; you have another proposition that they might be enfranchised at 25 instead of 21 as their brothers would be; and I heard, I think only yesterday, of a proposition that women should have votes, but at every election, each of these votes should only count two-thirds as much as a man's vote. Now, friends, I do not think that those are consoling signs that we have passed the revolutionary stage of this Movement. We are told to-day that we are asking too much, but the fault is not ours; it has been imposed on us. We have been forced to say we will have Womanhood Suffrage if you are going to have Manhood Suffrage, and it is not for the people who imposed upon us the insult of a Manhood Suffrage Bill to turn round and accuse us to-day of demanding more than we ought to have. They forget that we are asking for votes on the same terms as men have them, and that is a demand we have no intention of abating; and I am perfectly certain that we are very wise not to abate it, no matter what may be the turnings and twistings of the politics of the day. I am glad to think there are other societies coming into line with

us; and we are most grateful for the support of the I.L.P. I think it is a very good sign that we have those people supporting us, and I should like to add that in my opinion the difficulties of getting this celebrated Reform Bill put together are likely to be so very great that we shall get it abandoned. We know exactly where we stand. We do not need to be mixed up with questions of expediency or anything of that sort. We stand on a principle which is one of the deepest moral principles, and we see on every hand that we are gaining. The tide turned long ago. The tide is with us, and already the waves of progress are breaking over the sands of difficulty, soon to obliterate them from man's sight for ever.

FAREWELL TO THE W.S.P.U.

By Miss Vida Goldstein.

After five years' observation of the Movement in England, from the other end of the world, I had come to the conclusion that never once had your leaders been mistaken in their political judgment. And now, after nine months' experience inside your organisation, noting very carefully the development of matters that put their discretion and insight to the severest test, I see more clearly than before that this Woman Movement, of which the vote is only a tiny symbol, is founded upon a rock, because of the new spirit brought into it by your leaders, and responded to so splendidly by the rank and file throughout the country—the spirit that will not allow any compromise with principle. It is because the Union is so true to that principle that they are infallibly right in the present crisis. It is because the Union is always true to fundamental principles that they do possess that clarity of insight which everybody who knows anything of politics knows that they do possess, seeing that it is always possessed by those who never swerve from the highest conception of right. The principle for which this Movement stands is right and justice everywhere at all times. Now it is only people who make a stand for this great principle who move the world, and, in doing that, they are sure to bring upon themselves the odium of those who always take the line of least resistance, and the Women's Social and Political Union will always have to be a militant body. After you get the vote, it will be unnecessary to send stones as messages to the Government and to the electors; but when you are going to the root of the matter and trying to establish social, political, and industrial conditions on a foundation of right and justice, you will always find the big battalions ranged on the side of compromise, and you will always have to fight against that. Now I am going to the other side of the world to take my share in three great campaigns. One is against the vice of impurity, which the big battalions propose to remedy by a compromise that will be exceedingly dangerous to women. Another is to be directed against the vice of drink. It is proposed to remedy that by the nationalisation of the drink traffic—a very dangerous proposal indeed. And a third is to be directed against the vice of gambling, which it is also proposed to remedy by the legalisation of the machine known as the totaliser. We, the Women's Political Association, of which I happen to be President, are going to take part in it. We have similar conditions to fight against that you have here. I think, perhaps, I have told you before that we who belong to that Association are called the Suffragettes of Australia. Politicians know, of course, that we try to be absolutely faithful to principle; we cannot be of any party, therefore we are no use to the great powers, and they have the same feeling for us that the powers here have for the Suffragettes.

Now I want to make an appeal to you, and to ask you to join this organisation. I do not know that there is anything finer than to be a member of the Women's Social and Political Union. I would like to say this because I have been all over the United Kingdom, and I have always found that it made such a tremendous difference always to wear the badge. Everywhere that I have gone I have found the badge symbolising the sisterhood of woman. To-day I was in a crowded part of the city. I passed two young girls with badges. I had my badge on. We did not know each other, but we smiled; there was that badge of love and sympathy and sisterhood. Join this organisation, and never forget this badge.

Now I must say farewell, and remember, you here in England and we in Australia, we shall both keep the flag of principle always flying. No compromise! I wish to thank you very much for all the love and trust that you have given me from the very first moment that I came amongst you as a complete stranger. I am glad to know there is a great unity between us. And now good-bye to all of you here; good-bye to your brave comrades still in prison, and good-bye to the comrades throughout the United Kingdom. I hope I have been able to help you a little, and I can never, never tell you how much you have helped me.

DINNER IN HONOUR OF THE DUVAL FAMILY.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence on the Need for Reform of the Police Court.

A congratulatory dinner was given in the Holborn Restaurant on Wednesday, Dec. 20, by the Men's Political Union, to Mrs. Duval and family. Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence was in the chair, and the speakers were Mrs. Duval, Miss Annie Kenney, Mr. Victor Duval, Mr. Nevinson, Mrs. Pertwee, and Mr. Franklin. The chairman read a letter from Lady Constance Lytton, expressing regret that she was unable to be present for reasons of health, and said that letters of regret at being unable to be present had also been received from Miss Jessie Kenney, Mr. Cameron Swan, and Miss M. A. Broadhurst. After the toast of the King and Queen, the chairman rose to propose the health of the Duval family.

MR. PETHICK LAWRENCE'S SPEECH.

We are here, in the first place, to do honour to Mrs. Duval and to her family for the splendid and plucky way they are fighting in this Cause. We are here to say to them that we thank them most heartily for what they have done, and that they are to us an inspiration of what can be done by men and by women. But we are here not merely to give a personal greeting to them, but also to express our indignation at the way the whole family were treated on this occasion at Bow Street. Now, though I do not believe we should be right in turning aside from the main issue we have in hand in order to go in for police court reform, I know also that in the course of this suffrage agitation we have come across many things that are rotten to the core, and that it sometimes falls to our lot to put things right by the way. We all know what the women of this Movement have done for Holloway prison—how they found Holloway a reminiscence of medieval barbarism, and wasteful both of money and of human life, and how they have taken the first step towards putting that prison on a more rational and a more human footing. What they have done for Holloway has also to be done for the police court.

In the course of my work for the Women's Suffrage cause I have seen as much of the police court as is seen, I think, by anyone who does not go there day by day on professional duty, and I say, after very careful thought, that the police court, as it is at present constituted, and as the whole system works, is a scandal to this country, and a menace to human liberty.

Now, in saying this, I am not blaming the magistrates. I have known many magistrates personally in the course of my life, and they are every bit as good fellows and as good men as other men that we see. Even the magistrates who have been responsible for sentencing these prisoners of ours to various terms of imprisonment are not individually to blame. Neither am I making a general accusation against the police. I do not think that the Suffragettes could possibly bring a general accusation against the police, many of whom have gone out of their way to do kindness and to stretch their duty as far as possible in order to deal fairly with this suffrage cause. But what we do know about the police is that, just like every other body of men, there are black sheep among them, and what we have to see is that the system does not give those men undue power. Also, the police are extraordinarily loyal to one another. Loyalty is a good thing, so long as it does not mean that some third party is injured thereby, but if one member of the police force is going to stand up for another when he is taking a line which is injurious to the public, then his loyalty is stretched beyond its proper bounds.

A Danger to Liberty.

There are four ways in which the police court is, as at present constituted, a danger to liberty. In the first place, the magistrate and the police and the police court all form parts of one system. The person who arrests and accuses the prisoner, the person who judges the prisoner and acts as the jury of the prisoner, the person who is the gaoler of the prisoner, all form part of one machine. They are all working together, and to a certain extent in common. That leads not merely to casual irregularity, but also to fundamental injustice, a fundamentally wrong conception on the part of the person concerned. I think that very few people realise that in the eyes of the law the policeman has only very slightly greater powers than an ordinary citizen; he has not got special rights or privileges under the law, except that he has a slightly larger power of arrest; in every other particular he stands exactly on the footing, or is supposed to stand exactly on the footing,

of an ordinary citizen of this country. But that is not his status in the view of the magistrate. The magistrate really considers that the policeman is his own long arm, and that when he has effected an arrest he has, as it were, passed judgment, and that, unless there is good reason to the contrary, that judgment ought not to be reversed by the magistrate. Such a theory might conceivably be a good one to adopt. It might be desirable to have a body of men whose business it was practically to enter a verdict upon the facts straight away, but that is not the theory of the English law, and if it were to be the theory, then the police ought to be selected with great deal more care, and with a great deal more judgment, than they are at the present time. The police are men chosen for a certain duty; they are not chosen to be judges in the first instance; yet that is practically the position in which they are placed by the view of the magistrates throughout the country. How often I have heard it said by a magistrate, "I must support the police." I say the magistrate is not there to support the police; he is there to judge between the police and the prisoner who is arrested.

A second very serious flaw in the system is that the police have an interest, either in a direct or in an indirect way, in securing convictions. That is a very pernicious system, and ought to be put an end to.

Then, thirdly, the magistrate has far too many cases brought before him in the course of a day, and therefore he has to adopt what you may call "sloppy" methods to get through his work. I heard a magistrate try a case lately while waiting for the suffragette cases to come on. He prevented the woman from speaking when she wanted to, which was at the wrong time, and then when she ought to have spoken he never told her, and as a result, he sentenced her without her having given her side of the case, and I saw that woman taken out of the court in tears, saying, "I have never had my say." No one gave her a chance. Now, if that had been a real court of law, with a judge and jury, you would find that every effort would have been made to make her position quite clear to her, and she would have been told when she ought to speak. But in the police court the prisoner is never given a chance. In addition to that, the magistrate has so many prisoners brought before him who are guilty (at least they are guilty in the sense that they have broken some little petty law of the land—many in my judgment are really ill, and ought to be treated medically instead of criminally), that he gets into the habit of assuming that everyone is guilty, and in the few cases, perhaps only five or ten per cent., where they are innocent, he does not pay proper attention to what they have to say.

In the fourth place, there is another great danger in the police court, and it is due to the fact that you have almost invariably what I may call professional evidence given on one side and unprofessional evidence on the other. The evidence of the police is always very neat and very tidy, and all the evidence given by one policeman tallies with all the evidence given by other policemen, except, of course, when there has been a little mistake. (Laughter.) Whereas unprofessional evidence, the evidence of five people, say, taken more or less at random, is to a slight extent ragged, and it does not exactly fit in. Personally I distrust evidence that is perfectly doctored; I think it is much more likely to be right when it is ragged, as five people see a thing from different points of view. Well, the magistrate assumes, practically always, that the police are right and the others are wrong. I think that is a very scandalous thing.

Some Cases in Point.

I have seen cases in this suffrage movement where I knew people were telling the truth. For instance, there is Mr. Victor Duval, who has, I was going to say, committed many crimes—(laughter)—at any rate who has been up several times before in the police court and has made no bones about what he has done, yet on the last occasion, when he was able to come forward and deny the statements of the police, and when he was able to bring reliable witnesses to show that his version was correct, the magistrate accepted the statements of the police. Then there was the case of Dr. Soskice and those of the other members of the Duval family. You find again in the case of my wife that a policeman, whom she never struck, says she struck him in the face, and the word of the policeman is taken against that of my wife by the magistrate. When we went to Newington Sessions we found the judge there taking a very different attitude.

He said frankly on one occasion that he felt perfectly certain that not one of the women who were present there had, consciously at any rate, departed in the smallest particular from what they knew to be the truth, and that although they had not gone into the witness box, but had spoken from the dock. But at Bow Street the magistrate practically sets aside the statements made from the dock, and even the sworn evidence of the members of the W.S.P.U., and the M.P.U. in favour of the evidence given by a single policeman. And if magistrates do that with the evidence of the honoured members of these Unions, what chance have those persons who belong to what are wrongly called the criminal classes? I say that it is an exceedingly dangerous thing that the police are taught to believe that they can make any statement however false and that the magistrate will accept it as true. I say that the magistrate ought to be very careful not to allow a young policeman to think that he can give false evidence with impunity.

Six Necessary Reforms.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we are not going to stand this sort of thing. We are going to purify the police court as we have purified Holloway prison, or at any rate as we have started to purify it, and humanise the police court as we have humanised Holloway prison. Here are some of the things that ought to be done: In the first place with regard to the building of the police court. It is so constructed, you know, that the magistrate cannot hear what the prisoner says or the prisoner the magistrate. That is a little thing that might be put right to start with. If women had something to do with the police court, a little detail of that kind might not perhaps escape their attention! In the next place we have got to see to it that the magistrate preserves the legal forms, and explains the position properly to the prisoner, who, the more innocent he is, is the more bewildered. Further than this, I do not think it is safe to allow one man to act as both judge and jury. A judge has got to sum up the case carefully to the jury, and in so doing there is a certain safeguard; if he makes the smallest material mistake in fact or law there is a possibility of setting the whole conviction aside. But a magistrate, not having to make any such statement, can come to his decision on perfectly wrong grounds, and yet his judgment cannot be upset. The idea seems to be that his sentences are so short that it does not matter whether they are right or wrong. The third thing is that the magistrate and the police must be kept separate. In the fourth place we must see that the police do not score, either directly or indirectly, by getting so many convictions to their "credit." Then we have got to see that the police are reprimanded when they give false evidence, and that they are punished. I think, also, that the sentences given in the police court ought to be subject to revision in a higher court, whereas at the present time this is not the case so far as the bulk of sentences are concerned.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have departed a long way from the actual subject of our toast, but I believe that the Duval family are those with whom personal considerations do not weigh compared with public considerations. That, after all, is why they are here to-night. And that is why I ask you to drink with me the health of Mrs. Duval, of Mr. Victor Duval, and of the Misses Duval, whom we have the pleasure and honour to welcome in our midst.

MRS. DUVAL'S REPLY.

Mrs. Duval in her reply said it was very kind of them to invite the Duval family to that dinner. She could assure them, speaking for herself and for the members of her family, that they put the Cause first. They must bring militant pressure to bear on Mr. Asquith's Government. It was very strange that although in the Cabinet they had a majority in favour of Votes for Women, not one member had the courage to come out and resign his post. The men thought more of party than they did of the progress and the well-being of women, and women could only make them understand that they were not children and that they meant to carry this fight to the bitter end by showing them that they would not stand their false pledges. She was quite prepared to give the remainder of her life to fight in that great battle.

Those who went to prison came out much stronger and more determined to take part in the fight. Each time she had been there, instead of having her spirit broken, she had come out feeling that there was a great deal more work to do. Just because injustice was meted out in the police courts, she appealed to any women who had not yet been to prison, who had not yet smashed any windows, not to think that they could not do it. After all, what was the smashing of glass to the smashing of women's lives? Quiet propaganda work was not sufficient—it had been tried and had proved to be a failure. The vote was worth having, and it was worth fighting for. It was the duty of all women to come out and fight in this battle. They would only be satisfied with the vote on the same terms as men had it. She felt very strongly for all the brave women who had suffered in this Cause, and would have been much happier if those brave women in Holloway had been present at this dinner instead of being in their lonely prison cells. She hoped that next year, in the tremendous battle to be fought, they would win victory.

Miss Annie Kenney then spoke, and said she was very glad to have the opportunity of expressing their thanks and appreciation of the Men's Political Union for all their splendid labours during the past year, and also their admiration of their enthusiasm in the cause of Votes for Women.

Mr. Victor Duval said that the Men's Political Union came into existence at the time that women were shut out of meetings and it was necessary that someone should get in and voice the women's claim. Women had courage and political insight, and they could see through politicians very much better than men could. Politicians might try to take the Men's Political Union in, but they were not able, because they were in close touch with women who knew all about it. They were filled with hope, and they were determined to stand by the women of England—indeed, the women of the world if necessary—in order that they should be able, together with their brothers, to have a share in the making of the laws.

Mr. Nevinson said they had been standing lately and were still standing, at a very difficult and dangerous crisis. In a long political experience he had never encountered such difficulty and such perplexity as he had gone through in the last five weeks, because whichever party one took one would be sure to sacrifice friends. He did wish they could manage somehow or other to check a certain class of people who came to the meetings, especially at the Pavilion, as they would come to a bull-fight or a gladiatorial show. Whenever the word militancy was spoken they shouted "Bravo!" He told a story of someone who went into a Suffrage shop and said: "You are not doing anything special now." She was asked if she wanted to give in her name for the next deputation. That lady never came again. Warriors must necessarily be stern and grave. Mr. Nevinson spoke of the extraordinary comradeship that has come through the movement, which bound men and women together irrespective of rank, wealth, intellect, or education.

Mrs. Pertwee, who took the place of Lady Constance Lytton almost at a moment's notice, said she felt very unworthy because she had never been to Holloway. But the League with which she was associated, the Actresses' Franchise League, of which she was the musical organiser, was well represented at the last Deputation. A good many members went out, and three had gone to prison.

She had spoken in a militant manner at a meeting of a constitutional society, and had a special letter of thanks from the society. That showed that the militant policy was not doing harm. They had a great deal more work to do and they might have a great deal more fighting to do, but they were certainly not afraid of that.

Mr. Franklin then proposed the toast of the Chairman, and explained that this was to have fallen to the lot of Mr. Cameron Swan, and they were very sorry that, for family reasons, he was unable to be present. They did not propose that toast for formal reasons only, but because they recognised the splendid work done by Mr. Lawrence, whom they were proud to have as a member of the Men's Political Union. Mr. Franklin also referred to the presence of Mrs. Lawrence, whom they were very glad to have among them.

Mr. Lawrence in responding said they were all bound together in a comradeship which was something more than any of them had ever known before. He went on to refer to the men and women in prison under a sentence of two months and to say that under the old regulations a prisoner who was given more than one month's sentence was entitled to one sixth remission for industry and good conduct. Before Mr. Churchill brought in his prison rules that privilege was granted to Suffrage prisoners unless they had done something terrible while in prison. Mr. Churchill had granted certain concessions to prisoners. They need not work, and therefore could show no sign of industry, only good conduct; in consequence remission of sentence had been refused. It was time this humbug and chicanery were done away with.

He hoped that all, whether inside or outside prison walls, would have a very happy Christmas and that they would meet again in the New Year determined that however strenuous the fight might be, however difficult, however arduous, they would keep up a good heart, and work with the certainty of almost immediate victory.

NEXT WEEK

we shall publish the first of
three articles by

LADY STOUT.

ON

"WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN
NEW ZEALAND."

THE BY-ELECTIONS.

The great turnover of votes in the Scottish by-elections resulting in the loss of a seat by the Liberals in Ayrshire and the serious reduction in the Liberal majority in Govan, has set the Liberal party busily at work to find out the cause. They need not look beyond the proposed Manhood Suffrage Bill, which brought into the field against their candidates the energetic forces of the Women's Social and Political Union. Scotsmen have not been slow to appreciate the insult which the Manhood Suffrage Bill implied to women, and have registered their protest in a way the Government could understand.

VICTORY IN NORTH AYRSHIRE.

Capt. D. F. Campbell (C) 7,318
A. M. Anderson, K.C. (L) 7,047
Cons. Maj. 271

Result in Dec., 1910:—A. M. Anderson, K.C. (L), 7,286; Capt. D. Campbell (C), 6,982. Lib. maj. 334.

The by-election campaign has been a magnificent success. Even the most bigoted opponent of Woman Suffrage cannot but admit that the W.S.P.U. has been one of the contributory causes leading to the defeat of the Government. The workers have not only "kept the Liberal out," they have done more. They have penetrated into villages where Suffrage meetings had never before been held; they have broken new ground, secured the names of sympathisers and made a good foundation for future work.

[From our Special Correspondent.]

As always, we find that militancy, instead of putting back the clock, has roused a deeper interest in our question. We have filled most of the Town Halls to overflowing; at Newmilns the Town Hall was packed one hour before the time. At Saltcoats, after Miss Williams's eloquent address, several new members joined and various offers of help were given, including the offer of a drawing room meeting. On the same evening Miss Emma Wylie addressed a particularly sympathetic audience in the Town Hall, West Kilbride. Here the enthusiasm was so great that it was with difficulty that the speaker could get away from the meeting in time for the last train to Glasgow. On Monday, Miss Janie Allan and Miss Lucy Burns spoke in the Town Hall, Ardrossan. A big fire had broken out in the town and we were told we might as well give up our meeting as the fire would prove too great a counter-attraction. However, our fears soon melted away, and before the end of the meeting there was only standing room. The outdoor open-air demonstration on the eve of the poll was equally successful. The motor-car proved a great boon. By its aid it was possible to hold a series of open-air meetings over the greater part of the scattered constituency.

LIBERAL REDUCTION IN GOVAN.

Mr. D. T. Holmes (L) 7,508
Mr. George Balfour (C) 6,522
Liberal majority 986

Result in Dec., 1910:—W. Hunter, K.C. (L), 8,400; G. Balfour (C), 6,869. Lib. maj. 2,040.

Splendid work has been done by Miss McLean and other workers, and although the Liberals have not lost a seat here, they have lost more votes than in Ayrshire. So even in Scotland it will pay the Liberal Government to mend its ways before another election comes on!

[From Our Special Correspondent.]

What influence exactly the Suffragettes had in turning the scale may not be known, but one thing certain is that our anti-Government policy received more consideration from the electors than ever before. The elector who formerly shouted, "Tory," now understands and asks intelligent questions about our policy. At a dinner-hour meeting the day before the poll our speaker and Mr. Holmes spoke from adjoining lorries, and as our crowd was bigger than and merging into his, he was led to remark (with a bow to the speaker) that he did not understand why we were against him, as he was for us. A copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN was at once presented to him to enlighten him on the point. The men enjoyed the little encounter immensely, and beamed with delight. Our open-air meetings have been most enjoyable, well attended, and very attentive. Some nights we had as many as three waggontees, with colours flying, at Govan Cross, within sight of each other, all with large crowds, which stood solid for two and a half and three hours at a stretch. The good feeling of the people was demonstrated one night, when the copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN were stolen from the lorry by some mischievous children. Several people insisted on paying for the loss, three or four times the value being contributed voluntarily in as many seconds.

The hall meetings also were well attended. The "General" was the attraction at the Town Hall meeting. Miss Burns and Miss Burnet spoke in the Co-operative Hall. Other speakers were Miss Savage, Miss Thomson, Miss Hannan, Miss Hunter, Miss Currie, Mrs. John, Miss Underwood, and Miss E. McLean.

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGE POINT OF VIEW.

"The feminine character renders women unfit for political power. Women are extremists. They are devoted not to ideals, but to persons. Of vivid imagination but feeble judgment, they best employ their talents not as leaders but as followers. Less self-sacrificing than men (witness the saints and the reformers), less rational ("women cannot be expected to understand logic"), narrow in their sympathies, they lack that calm detachment which solves vast problems. Great empire and little minds go ill together." Lastly feminine influence in the State has been disastrous. The examples of Greece, of Rome, of France give abundant proof of this, that women, even if privately good, are publicly bad. Lately women have been emancipated; not the least acute observers declare that England is declining. *The Rev. G. Hawkins (Stroud) in the "Woman's Platform" (Standard) for December 20.*

"The best that Mr. Lloyd George could adduce in the way of argument was to insist that a certain number of women were possessed of high political qualities, and that one of them has been pronounced fit to be an Insurance Commissioner. But it is a question of enfranchising, not individuals, but millions. Because one highly-trained ape, like Consul, can go through all the motions of gentlemanly behaviour upon a music-hall stage, we do not invite the rest of his species indiscriminately to dinner; and it is a caricature of logic to make the specialised gifts of a handful of women serve as passport for the great masses of their sex who do not possess them."—*Pall Mall Gazette (Leading Article, December 18).*

The *Times*, in a leading article, referring to the Doctors' Protest at Queen's Hall on Tuesday night, December 19, says:—"These meetings, and particularly the passion shown at the Queen's Hall, conclusively prove that the profession are in deadly earnest. They are not men who go to meetings except for scientific purposes, and general practitioners rarely have time even for that. Nor are they men to fly into a passion for nothing. [It] was not a pleasant or dignified demonstration, but it was all the more significant on that account."

THE VALUE OF MILITANT METHODS.

Speaking at Cardiff recently, Mr. D. A. Thomas said that if the men of Wales and Nonconformist ministers who had been preaching religious equality all these years had been prepared to make similar sacrifices to those made by the Suffragettes, they would not be waiting to-day for a Disestablishment Bill.

LABOUR OPPOSITION TO MANHOOD SUFFRAGE.

We learn from the *Labour Leader* that arrangements are being pushed forward in connection with the great Albert Hall demonstration on Adult Suffrage. The Hall has been booked, and the demonstration will be held at the opening of Parliament in February. A joint committee responsible for organising the gathering has been formed, representing the Labour Party, the Independent Labour Party, and the Fabian Society. The chair will be taken by the Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party, and the following are among the speakers who will be invited to take part:—

Miss Mary R. Macarthur, Miss Millicent Murby, Miss Margaret G. Bondfield, J. Keir Hardie, G. Bernard Shaw, Philip Snowden, Arthur Henderson, and W. C. Anderson.

The following resolution has been passed by the Finsbury Branch of the I.L.P.: "That this meeting views with indignation the declaration of the Prime Minister that a Manhood Suffrage Bill will be introduced next year, and further calls upon the Labour Members of Parliament to inform the Government that under no circumstances will they vote for a Manhood Suffrage Bill and to demand the immediate abandonment of this Bill, and the substitution of a Government measure giving votes to all women and all men on equal terms."

The South Islington Branch of the I.L.P. has passed the following resolution: "That this meeting regrets that the proposed franchise measure does not include women as well as men; and while agreeing that Manhood Suffrage is overdue, demands that the Government shall accept the amendment to be proposed by the Labour Party, making the Bill an Adult Suffrage measure."

At a well attended branch meeting in connection with the Jarrow branch of the Independent Labour Party, the following resolution was unanimously carried: "That in view of the Prime Minister's statement in regard to proposed franchise reform, the Jarrow branch of the Independent Labour Party insists strongly that no measure will be acceptable which does not include both men and women, and urges that proposals for franchise extension which do not confer citizenship upon women should be definitely opposed. The branch therefore calls upon the Government to introduce not a Manhood Suffrage Bill, but a genuine measure of adult suffrage establishing political equality between the sexes."

The following resolution has been passed by the City of London Branch of the I.L.P.: "That in view of the Prime Minister's state-

ment in regard to proposed Franchise Reform, this Branch calls upon the Government to introduce not a Manhood Suffrage Bill, but a genuine measure of Adult Suffrage establishing political equality between the sexes."

The following resolution was passed at a meeting of the Social Democratic Federation (Brighton Branch), on Sunday, December 17:—"That this meeting, recognising that no measure of Franchise Reform can be satisfactory which does not include women, declares its opposition to the Manhood Suffrage Bill, and calls upon the Government to withdraw it, and to substitute for it a measure giving voting rights to all men and all women."

At a well-attended meeting of the Waterfoot branch of the Social Democratic Party a resolution that "no electoral reform will be adequate other than complete Adult Suffrage" was passed unanimously.

The Norwich Trades and Labour Council have passed the following resolution: "That this Council is strongly of opinion that no electoral reform will be satisfactory that does not give equal rights to women and men, and therefore calls upon the Government to introduce a measure of Adult Suffrage, and thus once and for all settle this long-delayed reform."

At a meeting of the Griffithstown branch of the Women's Labour League, held on Thursday last, the following resolution was passed unanimously:—"That this meeting calls upon the Government to withdraw the Manhood Suffrage Bill, and to introduce a Bill giving equal franchise rights to men and women."

THE LABOUR LEADER.

Pity a poor anti-Suffragist Prime Minister. He thinks the extension of the franchise to women would be "disastrous." But though this is his firm conviction as an individual, he is impotent as Prime Minister to stem the tide of disaster. Not a very dignified position. We do sincerely hope that Mr. Asquith will emulate some of his colleagues and "descend into the arena." To see him by the side of Lord Curzon, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, and Mrs. Humphry Ward would distinctly add to the gaiety of the nation. Mr. Asquith is against Women's Suffrage. Mr. Lloyd George talks in vague rhetorical way about "a broad and democratic basis." The Liberal position on the whole question is very unsafe and unsatisfactory, though the assurances of Sir Edward Grey will doubtless satisfy the Liberal women. They, to say the least of it, are modest in their demands and patient in their long waiting.

WANTED! 1,000 NEW READERS.

One of the greatest barriers Suffragettes to-day have to break down is ignorance. This can be done in one very practical way. For instance, your friend lives perhaps in some out-of-the-way place where she can never go to a suffrage meeting, and can never come into contact with those who are actively engaged in the woman's movement. She has only to know to believe. And knowledge comes by reading VOTES FOR WOMEN. Just now it is, more than ever, important that the public should understand the policy of militancy, and this is why members wish to give a present of a thousand new readers to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. The following are a few of the letters received this week:—

Mrs. Earl, of Dublin, writes:—"I have got 12 new subscribers since my return from prison. Each has paid me one year in advance. I hope to get many more in the course of the next few weeks. This, I believe, is the sort of Christians present Mrs. Lawrence wished for.

H. and H. B. write:—"We have recently obtained four new subscribers for Votes. . . . We heartily appreciate your policy and courageous action.

Miss Florence G. McFarlane writes:—

"Will you add a new reader for me to your list of those supplied locally? This friend lives in Montreal, and I shall send her from this office for a year at least a weekly copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Her last letter said: 'I have a friend here who gets VOTES FOR WOMEN and so I sometimes see it, which is a great treat.' This will make a dozen copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN for which I make myself responsible each week, apart from VOTES selling. Success to your scheme."

Mrs. M. Winifred Bull writes:—

"In response to your appeal for promises to increase the circulation of VOTES FOR WOMEN as a present to Mrs. Lawrence, I write to tell you that I have ordered my newsagent to send me two additional copies for the coming year. I take six regularly, and shall now take eight. I prefer to get them from my newsagent as that insures that the poster will be shown every week, and I myself forward them to friends. With much admiration of your wife's brave work for the cause."

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MR. BALL'S PROTEST.

Two Months' Hard Labour.

At Bow Street, on Friday in last week, before Mr. Curtis Bennett, Mr. William Ball (40) was charged with committing wilful damage at the Home Office.

Mr. Muskett, who prosecuted for the police, said that this appeared to be an age when persons who objected to the law and the administration of it by constituted authority thought they were entitled to make a protest by the commission of acts of violence. He ventured to submit that the time had now arrived when those who broke the King's peace in this way should be dealt with as severely as the law would allow. The prisoner was charged, under the Malicious Damage Act of 1861, with breaking two windows at the Home Office of the value of £5. When he was asked why he had acted in that way he said it was to protest against the sentence recently passed on a man named MacDougall for assaulting the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

It was stated that the glass broken by the prisoner had only recently been put in to replace the windows smashed by Suffragists a short time ago.

Mr. Ball said he could only repeat what he had already intimated, that he broke the windows as a protest against the unjust sentence passed on MacDougall, and also as a protest against manhood suffrage, which would bar the passage of a measure for votes for women. He had two daughters and two sons, and he wanted as much protection for his girls as he did for his boys. If the vote were extended to more men and not given to women on the same terms it would be an insult to all right thinking men. He as a man was not prepared to see the women, who were the mothers of the race and to whose care were committed the children during the years of their lives when they most needed it, excluded from the right to choose the legislators.

Londoners in a State of Fear.

Mr. Curtis Bennett said that Mr. Muskett had correctly described the present condition of affairs in this country, and especially in London, where everyone was in a state of fear as to what might happen at any hour of the day or night. During the past month damage amounting to thousands of pounds had been committed in the neighbourhood of that court, and that was a state of affairs which could not be tolerated in any country in the world. If the law was not sufficiently strong to stop it, the law must be amended. In this case he would impose the maximum penalty of two months' hard labour.

Although Mr. William Ball's protest was entirely unknown to other members of the Men's Political Union, the members are anxious that their sympathy and admiration of his prompt and courageous deed should be recognised. It was not until after the windows had been smashed, after Mr. Ball had been kept in Cannon Row over night, and after he had been actually sentenced to two months' imprisonment, that anyone knew what had taken place—so quiet but determined had been the protest. The M.P.U. was first informed when Mrs. Ball and their daughter (who was recently released from prison, the former also being an ex-prisoner) came to Buckingham Street and asked the secretaries to obtain permission for them to see Mr. Ball, the police having refused it. Although this was Mr. Ball's first offence, and although for many similar offences many old offenders were sentenced at Bow Street to a fortnight or three weeks in the second division, Mr. Ball was sentenced to two months' hard labour. The reason for this apparently was that, although the magistrate (Mr. Curtis Bennett) refused to recognise the motive as being political, he nevertheless took the view that regard should be had to the number of previous convictions in the Suffrage movement, and not those of the individual prisoner, thus clearly showing that he did not look upon the offence as an ordinary case of wilful damage when dealing with the evidence against the prisoner. Mr. Ball, before going to prison, declared his intention of refusing all food and refusing to obey the prison regulations unless accorded political treatment.

MISS DAVISON SENT FOR TRIAL.

On Thursday in last week, Sir Albert de Rutzen, at Bow Street, took the case of Miss Emily Wilding Davison, who had been remanded for a week charged with unlawfully attempting to place in a Post Office letter-box at Parliament Street Post Office a quantity of lighted linen saturated with kerosene.

Inspector Powell, of Scotland Yard, repeated the story he gave at the last hearing. In cross-examination, he said the accused made no attempt to conceal what she was

doing. She told him she had rung up a news agency, and informed them of her intention to commit this act.

Asked if she had had anything to say, the accused said, "My motive in doing this was to protest against the vindictive sentence and treatment of my comrade, Mary Leigh, when she was last charged in this court, compared to the treatment accorded here to Lady Constance Lytton, who had done far more damage."

"Secondly, I wish to call upon the Government to put Woman's Suffrage in the King's Speech on February 14, 1912. As the protest was meant to be serious, I adopted a serious course. In the agitation for reform in the past the next step after window-breaking was incendiarism, in order to draw the attention of the private citizen to the fact that this question of reform is their concern as well as that of women."

"Three points I wish to make about my act. First of all, I might have done with perfect ease a great deal more damage than I did. I contented myself with doing just the amount that would make my protest decided. Secondly, I walked on that Thursday, December 14, into the Aldgate district, but would not do any damage there because the people were of a poorer class. Thirdly, the reason I offered to give myself up was that I thought the Post Office officials might have been suspected of the deed, as there was trouble in the Post Office just then. Finally, women are now so moved upon this question that they feel that anything necessary to be done must be done regardless of the consequences."

The accused was committed for trial at the Old Bailey. Bail was allowed, the accused in £500 and two sureties of £250 each.

MRS. LEIGH'S SENTENCE.

One of the women convicted in connection with the recent Suffragist demonstration made an application to Mr. Marsham at Bow-street on December 20 to reduce the sentence of two months' imprisonment passed upon Mrs. Mary Leigh on that occasion.

The magistrate said he had no power to alter the sentence now, and the only course open to the applicant was to apply to the Home Secretary.

The applicant went on to say that Mrs. Leigh was charged with an assault on a constable, but she was a very little woman and could not have hurt the officer.

The magistrate said he considered the case very carefully before passing sentence, and he thought he dealt much too leniently with the offenders.

The Applicant: Would you send a letter to the Home Secretary confirming what I have said?

The Magistrate: You must not expect any assistance from me in the matter.

SOME PRESS OPINIONS.

THE NATION.

The trouble will come when the public realises, amid the dangerous strain of an overloaded programme, the division in the Cabinet on Woman Suffrage, and divines the failure of its new Continental policy. We confess that we see with some foreboding a Prime Minister pledged to an active prosecution of his views on the suffrage and his two most powerful lieutenants committed to an equally active furtherance of their opposite opinion, the two forces meeting in full clash on the floor of the House of Commons and then turning to each other in dramatic reconciliation and self-surrender over the victorious cause.

THE REFERENDUM.

In a leading article on December 27, the *Christian Commonwealth* says:—"If the Government were to accede to such a preposterous proposal as the Referendum, they would be creating a precedent that would be fatal to their party in the future. A Referendum would not settle the question. If a vote of the male electors went against Women's Suffrage it would simply prove the urgency of the need of women's enfranchisement, as showing how the existing male electorate requires the assistance of more political intelligence."

Under "Table Talk," on the same date, the *Christian Commonwealth* says:—"We deny the right of any number of men to withhold the vote from any woman, few or many; we go further and contend that every woman who wants the vote should have it, even though a majority of her own sex do not wish to have it. This is matter of human equity, not of numbers or of sex."

Women have shown great patience during the fifty years in which they have asked in vain for some voice in the election of representatives to the House of Commons, but this last insult would be too much. You may confidently look forward to a burst of passionate resentment on the part of women that will astonish the country, and make even the most hardened opponent of Woman Suffrage regret the moment when such an outrage upon our Constitution was planned to jockey our just claims for political rights.—Lady Aberconway in the *Westminster Gazette* (Dec. 22).

If the Referendum be adopted for a question of this kind, it surely cannot be set aside when many other grave matters are up for settling.—*The Yorkshire Post*.

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MRS. HELEN BOSANQUET.

In a letter to the *Times* of December 21, replying to Mrs. Humphry Ward, Mrs. H. Bosanquet writes:—"We have all heard before now of prisoners hugging their chains; it has been reserved for the women of the twentieth century to insist on hugging the chains of their fellow-prisoners also. They do not feel the weight of the fetters they bear; they live a life not only of ease and culture, but what is even more important, a life in which they enjoy the respect and confidence of the men of their world, of whom they feel themselves the equal mates. If they are satisfied with this, well and good; no one can force them to vote or even to take an interest in politics against their will. But by what right can they from their safe and honoured elevation oppose their influence to the claims of those whose lives are one long struggle against the difficult conditions under which working women of all grades have to toil?"

"Mrs. Ward appeals to her knowledge of the poorer women. I, too, have been there, with the result that even if I thought they were mistaken in their anticipation of all the vote might do for them I hope I should stand humbly aside and place no stumbling-block in the way of their effort to raise their status. But they are not mistaken. The franchise will not at once bring them higher wages or shorter hours of work or good husbands. Nevertheless, their instinct is a right one, for it will bring them at once something at least of the respect and consideration which form the basis upon which we more fortunate women build our lives. I cannot understand the contempt with which Mrs. Ward regards the suggestion that even the poorest and most hard worked may be helped by being called upon to take an interest in matters outside the narrow round of their daily toil. It is sheer tyranny to insist that they have no time for anything but drudgery, and mistaken tyranny into the bargain, for we all of us tread out daily round the better when there is at least one window through which we can look away to the hills, whence (as we hope) our help cometh."

"Moreover, Mrs. Ward has diagnosed her problem wrongly. The verminous children are seldom the children of the hard-working mothers; they are the children of the sisters who need that live on the dole-

or at the street corner; and they might just as well be talking politics as scandal.

"But the question cannot be argued solely upon the ground of the small proportion of women who live under the conditions which Mrs. Ward describes. It is true that they have everything to gain and nothing to lose by being raised to the dignity of citizenship. It is true also that they can contribute an element of experience to our political deliberations which no other class can adequately represent. But if it is 'political intelligence' we are in search of, has Mrs. Ward in her wide experience never addressed an audience of Scottish working women? Is she not acquainted with the working women of Lancashire and Yorkshire? Nay, to come nearer home, has she never gauged the intelligence of her own household servants? The more I see and know of our working sisters the more I am amazed at the sheer waste of practical wisdom in our country due to the exclusion of women from politics.

"Of course, there is the old cry, Oh, but they can influence their husbands. But we have not all got husbands. Moreover, a husband is a very human creature, and when the State tells him that women are non-political animals and cannot understand such deep matters he naturally thinks he will not be such a fool as to take their advice. And, indeed, this whole question of indirect influence is very obnoxious to right-minded women. They are rational themselves, and wish that reason should prevail. There is another school which thinks that in matters political, force should prevail; and it is significant that it is this school which is most eager to perpetuate the exclusion of women from political life."

DAMAGE TO PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

In the House of Commons, recently, Mr. King asked the hon. member for Southampton, as representing the First Commissioner of Works, what is the total cost, estimated or ascertained, of repairing the damage done to the windows of public offices on the night of the 21st ult., and by whom that cost will be borne?

The Treasurer of the Household (Mr. Dudley Ward). The estimated total cost of repairing this damage is about £200. In the circumstances the First Commissioner fears that this expenditure will fall on the funds of his Department.

MRS. PANKHURST IN AMERICA.

One of the most interesting accounts of the impression made by Mrs. Pankhurst on her American tour comes in a letter to Mr. Cameron Swan from Mr. F. J. Garrison, the son of the famous Liberationist, Lloyd Garrison. He says:—

"Mrs. Pankhurst addressed a large audience in Boston last evening and had a warm reception. To-day there was a lunch in her honour, at which I was the only man among one hundred and fifty women! Mrs. Pankhurst spoke happily, and went from there to Cambridge to address a crowded meeting of the Harvard and Radcliffe students. Many of the former came prepared to laugh and be noisy, but she quickly dominated them, and they listened with breathless interest and cheered her lustily at the end. You will see by the enclosed clipping how the Corporation of the University stupidly refused the use of any of the college halls for the lecture, and so gave it a splendid advertisement and ensured a packed house. I know you will like my dear nephew's vigorous protest against their narrow and silly action. I wanted to be there, but only students were admitted. A lady who was present has just described the scene to me over the telephone, and says that Mrs. Pankhurst surpassed herself."

"It was a happy coincidence that Mrs. Pankhurst arrived in this country just as we won the magnificent victory in California, a victory the importance and inspiration of which for both our countries, and for the movement throughout the world, cannot be exaggerated. Think of 85,000 women being registered to vote in the municipal election at Los Angeles yesterday, and see how finely the election passed off."

"We watch with much solicitude the latest plot of Asquith and Lloyd George to 'torpedo' the Conciliation Bill, and hope their scheming will be in vain. Mrs. Pankhurst told me to-day that when the suffrage is gained in Great Britain, she is coming over to help us, so you see we have double cause for praying for your early success! We hope to capture the great State of Wisconsin in 1912, and Kansas and Oregon after that. And then we shall have only thirty-nine more States to conquer!"

On December 7, Mrs. Pankhurst was entertained to luncheon at the Greenwich (Conn.) County Club by the Equal Franchise League. The tables were decorated in the colours, and when Mrs. Pankhurst spoke "her gentle dignity, womanhood and earnestness pleaded for response in the heart of each woman present." In the evening a large meeting was held in the Auditorium, Mr. Elliott, member of the House of Representatives, introduced Mrs. Pankhurst and spoke of his admiration for her self-sacrifice and courage. In Syracuse, Mrs. Pankhurst spoke splendidly, says a correspondent, though naturally a little tired with so much travelling and making twelve speeches in seven days. Afterwards Mrs. Pankhurst spoke in Boston and then travelled to Montreal.

Of special interest is Mrs. Pankhurst's own account to an interviewer of her Wall Street speech, where it has been asserted she was "howled down."

"If there were any seriously disagreeable features I have quite forgotten them," she firmly asserted. "I did not see that any of the flags on our automobile were broken. I did not think that we were unusually jolted by the crowd. My speech was not cut short, nor was I shouted down. I talked for several minutes and said everything I wanted to say. Whatever disturbance there was impressed me as the merest and most unimportant incident. Even there in Wall Street there were plenty of intelligent men who asked sensible questions and wanted to hear what I had to tell them. I find that intelligent men everywhere, both in America and England, are splendidly receptive of suffrage doctrines. And even among those not interested the rudely derisive element is the minimum. Why should it be dignified by large names and violent abuse?"

The following quotations from U.S. newspapers will be read with interest here.

"The Omaha delegates who had come to Lincoln on the train with Mrs. Pankhurst, and who had been in charge of the meeting at the metropolis, declare that she has made a profound impression in Omaha, and that each time she spoke her charm and grace and womanliness, as well as the justice of her cause, were more apparent. She has made many converts, we believe, said they, and the best type of Omaha's professional and business men came to hear her."—*Nebraska State Journal*.

"The frail, staunch fighting Englishwoman undeniably created a sentiment of sympathy for the cause to which she has devoted her life. Her eloquent address was frequently interrupted by applause."

"It must be admitted that if a man were to go about the work of advocating a political cause in the way Mrs. Pankhurst goes about her work we would think pretty well of him. The men who leave the impress of their personality upon the minds of the people do go about it just her way. It is the way of Cobden, of Bright, of O'Connell, of Parnell, of Wendell Phillips, of Henry Ward Beecher. It is the hard way, not the easy way. It is the way of forcing opinion, not of waiting for the current. There are risks about it, discomforts about it, even dangers attendant upon it. It takes a lot of heart to carry on such a campaign. Braving occasional rowdism is bad enough, but it takes a pretty high order of courage to face the tedium involved in ceaseless railway journeys, in meeting not always too intelligent sympathizers, in putting up with the squeamishness of faint-hearted friends. That is desperate work for a man. How a woman manages to do it is beyond the power of man's imagination."—*Montreal Herald*.

"The audience rose and waved their handkerchiefs at the close of Mrs. Pankhurst's address."—*The Omaha Bee*.

VIEWS OF PROMINENT CHURCHMEN.

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

The Bishop of Lincoln, speaking at Grimsby recently at an education meeting, said he regarded women as the real teachers of the race. While America appointed women teachers because men were too impatient with children, England appointed them because they were cheaper. He hoped this spirit would soon die out. It was the most promising sign of the times that women's higher education was being rapidly and carefully developed. Throughout life the woman was the teacher, and in order that the nation might get the best products of her teaching she should have every educational advancement.

CANON SCOTT HOLLAND.

At the Guildhall, Bath, on December 14, Canon Scott Holland referred to Woman Suffrage as follows:—

"If," he said, "they were going to attack all the legislation before them, the pace at which it travelled and the amount that would be done would depend largely on another possible measure next year concerning women. (Applause). He was not going to say a word about that matter, only, he would ask everyone present to recognise the seriousness of that issue, to think it over, to pray over it because it was a matter which went down to the very fundamentals of national life." (Hear, hear, and applause).

CANON SIMPSON.

There are peculiar reasons, which have nothing to do with the perennial lawlessness of human nature, why the whole question of marriage should have been cast into the crucible of reflective thought. A claim is being made and pushed with an ever-growing persistence for a complete recognition of the full and independent personality of woman. This is due in part to a more perfect understanding of the psychology of human personality, in part to the industrial conditions of the age, which are daily making increased demands upon the co-operation of women in the production and distribution of wealth. To the demand most men contribute, because it means dividends; to the claim many demur, because it involves rights. For my own part I cannot see that the one can logically be sustained without the other. Canon J. G. Simpson, D.D., at St. Paul's Cathedral.

LETTERS FROM PROMINENT MEN.

In a letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, Mr. Alfred Iron, of Sheffield, says:—

It is very doubtful whether there is a majority in the present House for either manhood or adult suffrage.

Mr. Asquith, however, has very convincing arguments at his command—a threat of disolution, a few of the results being a heavy fine running often into four figures, a stiff fight, a possible defeat, etc. The weight of these arguments will bring him a majority for his Manhood Suffrage Bill, but the amendments will be discussed without the convincing arguments and the majority will be unconvinced. The leaders of the W.S.P.U. see this as a double insult—to their intelligence and to their sex. They are angry, and they do well to be angry.

Mr. Henry D. Harben, who fought as Liberal candidate for Portsmouth, contributes a letter to the *Westminster Gazette*, in the course of which he says:—

The fact, pointed out by Mr. Asquith, that Woman Suffrage cuts athwart ordinary party differences may be a valid reason for either party leaving the whole question alone. But it is no excuse for proposals which actually intensify the disabilities of women. There are many advocates of Woman Suffrage who, like myself, quite realise that the Government could not in the circumstances have been blamed for a policy of inaction. But this policy it has now deliberately abandoned. It is raising the franchise question of its own accord; it is proposing, as a Government, still further to widen the political distinctions between men and women, which, in the opinion of thousands of its own supporters, are not merely absurd but also responsible for many of the social evils which the Liberal Party professes to deplore. This proposal is as wanton as it is untimely. It simply invites the exasperation of which the women gave evidence last night. If any serious attempt were made to pass it into law, it would cause widespread estrangement among the most fighting elements of the party.

THE GLOBE AS THE OFFICE CAT.

In a note the *Globe* says:—

As far as we can work it out, the feminine mind argues as follows:—"We dislike Mr. Asquith, and we mean to punish him. So let's go and break the plate-glass belonging to some total stranger, who may for all we know, be a supporter of our movement." The worst of it is, there is no knowing where this sort of thing will stop. We go about in fear and trembling. At any moment, as we take our walk abroad, an egg may splash upon our startled face and a female voice cry, "I don't know who you are sir, and I bear you no grudge, but I simply must show the Home Secretary what I think of him." The principle, of course, is that which leads the office-boy, after a fuss with the senior partner, to kick the office cat. But we wish that we had not to play cat to the Suffragette's office-boy.

At the December meeting of the Prestwich District Council a resolution in favour of granting the Parliamentary franchise to duly qualified women was passed, eight in favour and two against. The resolution was proposed by Councillor Wilden, seconded by Councillor Dodgson, and supported by the Rev. F. W. Cooper.

SOME PRESS OPINIONS.

THE IRISH TIMES.

The passing of a Manhood Suffrage measure, as we recently pointed out, would render the Conciliation Bill hardly worth the paper on which it was written. The enormous increase in the numbers of the male electorate would surely overbalance the microscopic representation of women. The application to women of such a wholesale measure is in no quarter seriously considered. The women Suffragists somewhat justifiably consider that they have been tricked.

We must assume that the letter of the Government's promise with regard to that measure will be redeemed. The fact that, in the present entirely altered situation, the promise is a completely empty one is, of course, no concern of Mr. Asquith's.

WOLVERHAMPTON EXPRESS.

Mrs Pankhurst stated that nothing less would satisfy her or the Suffragettes than that the Government should bring forward a measure which would give precisely equal rights to man and woman. We think there is a good deal to be said for her point of view. A Government should be responsible for any important measure passed during its term of office.

T.P.'S WEEKLY.

The truce between the militant Suffragists and the Government has come to an end. Beyond admitting that the more warlike of the Women's Righters have proved themselves capable of restraint I cannot go without entering upon controversial matters. But the fresh outbreak points its moral. At the present time strikes and street-fighting are assuming unwonted proportions, and the reason is not far to seek. Legislation is going forward at a great speed, and this acts as an irritant to those bodies which, through lack of voting power, are unable to force their own schemes through Parliament. The Women's Social and Political Union is like the pained man, who has no one to put him into the pool when the water is troubled. Unlike the pained man, however, they can break windows. The sense of exasperation must be intense. Personally, I had a vote under the old law, and shall have one under the new Manhood Suffrage. But here one has a body of keen politicians goaded to madness; and most of us are aware that in this imperfect world it is the naughty boy who howls that rules the nursery. Therefore, one ceases to be surprised that, argument having ceased, brickbats and fistcuffs are the order of the day. It is a regrettable fact, because Woman's Suffrage seems to me to demand much quiet thought, and should forge a further bond between the sexes. At present it is a bone of contention and the subject of violent prejudice. To get at the rights of the matter it is not enough to read the daily Press, but to compare their side of the case with the opinions of that able party journal, *Votes for Women*. In party questions read both sides.

POLITICAL WINDOW BREAKING.

The Suffragists did not originate window-breaking methods in political controversy. Mobs have always broken windows as an expression of opinion, and in the eighteenth century two members of the House of Stanley were associated with an adventure of the sort. The London populace had been greatly incensed by a Government prosecution of Admiral Kepel, and on the acquittal of the latter the London crowd turned out and attacked the houses of Ministers. At about three in the morning Lord Derby, his brother, Major Stanley, Mr. Charles Fox, and the Duke of Lancaster were going home together, when they encountered the mob, which had just completed the wreckage of Sir Hugh Palliser's house. The noble lords, with the keen sporting instincts of those days, suggested other houses to the crowd, and the mob went round smashing windows to their hearts' content. The Admiralty and the Horse Guards suffered, just as the Government buildings did the other night at the hands of the militant ladies.

—*Liverpool Courier*.

A CHRISTMAS WISH.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors.—We wish you a very Happy and Prosperous New Year, and we enclose a Christmas present—a subscription to VOTES FOR WOMEN, to be sent to Mrs. Oliver with hers at above address.—Yours, &c.,

THREE LITTLE GIRLS.

Montree, Athlone, Ireland,
December 20, 1911.

[A charming calendar, with a photograph of the three little girls, has also been sent to us. We greatly appreciate this pretty gift.—Ed. VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

DR. MARION MACKENZIE.

As already announced, Dr. Marion Mackenzie is leaving Scarborough (where she has done such splendid work for the cause) on her approaching marriage. Dr. Mackenzie informs us that, although both she and her future husband are members of the Church of England, they have reluctantly decided on a civil marriage, as neither approves of the present Marriage Service. Both Dr. Marion Mackenzie and her husband intend carrying on their medical practices.

NOTICE.

We are asked to announce that the wedding of Miss Una Dugdale and Mr. Victor Duval will take place on Saturday, January 13, at 2.15, at the Chapel Royal, Savoy, and not on Monday, January 15, as originally announced.

"EAGER HEART."

Anything more lovely than "Eager Heart," performed by the Eager Heart Company, at the Pusmore Edwards Settlement in Tavistock Place during the week before Christmas, it would be hard to find. It is not too high praise to say that every single part was taken with the utmost delicacy and perfectly acted. The effect depends on the extreme simplicity of the production, and we shall not soon forget the beautiful reverence in which Miss Buckmill's lovely Mystery play was given.

A CHRISTMAS PLAY.

The Christmas play by Miss Kate Murray, given at the Institute, Hampstead Garden Suburb, in aid of the building fund of St. Jude-on-the-Hill, on December 15 and 16, aimed at showing the Mystery in its original setting, when it had grown too large for a place in the Liturgy. The actors were amateurs chosen for the most part from the successful little pageant played in June and August of 1911.

THE DURBAR.

At a meeting organised by the Navy League, at which Lord Meath presided, on December 12, at Queen's Hall, Mr. S. M. Mitra said that, the physical conquest of India having been completed, the time had come for English women to begin the moral conquest of that Dependency. Unless Englishwomen of forethought co-operated with tactful Indian women there could be no real moral hold of England over India. An omission at the two previous Delhi Durbars had not, he regretted, been made good on the present occasion. Out of the 17 functions during the King-Emperor's visit to Delhi, not one was a purely women's function to bring English and Indian women together. If any of the Imperial Leagues in this country had taken up the idea, the authorities would have met them half-way by arranging for a function where the Queen, as Empress of India, might have received the wives and sisters of the Princes in alliance with the British Throne.

THE RIGHT MEN IN THE RIGHT PLACE.

As following naturally on the appointment of Mr. Charles Brookfield to the Assistant Censorship of plays, *Punch* suggests the following:—

Mr. Asquith has been offered and has accepted the post of Honorary Treasurer to the Women's Social and Political Union.

Mr. Lloyd George, though an exceedingly busy man, will shortly take up his duties as Adviser to the Tax-Payers' Protection Association.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, as soon as her present duties will permit, will take up an agency for the Plate-Glass Insurance Company.

WHO KEEPS THE HOME?

It is pleasant to find for once the woman getting her due who supports husband and children and home. At Marylebone recently a woman and her husband were summoned on a charge of neglecting four children. It was stated that the woman worked from six in the morning till eight at night, but finding that her children were neglected she gave up even this work which brought a wage of £1. a week. The home was neglected, there was no fire, and the children were being starved. The magistrate praised the woman highly for her industry and discharged her without a stain, and sent her husband to prison for two months.

LOSS OF SERVICE.

Neither the body nor the soul, but the value of her work was the consideration in a case heard recently in London, when a man claimed damages from the seducer of his daughter for the loss of her services. She was given birth to a child when she was under 16 years of age. The plaintiff was awarded £25!

VICTORY!

The new headquarters at New York of the Political Equality Association is said to be the largest building in the world devoted to the cause of Votes for Women. It is appropriate above the doorway that a huge figure, four times life size, will represent Victory just raising herself from a reclining position, and placing a trumpet to her lips.

W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

The London weekly Monday afternoon meetings will be resumed at the London Pavilion, Piccadilly Circus, on Monday, January 15, at 3.15 p.m., when it is hoped Mrs. Pankhurst will be present. The weekly meetings at the Steinway Hall will be resumed on Thursday, January 18, at 8 p.m.

Every member of the W.S.P.U. will sympathise with Miss Mary Allen in the death of her father. Mr. Allen had been ill for some months, and passed away on Wednesday of last week.

OUR POST BOX.

AN ECHO OF NOVEMBER 21.

Mrs. Saul Solomon sends us a touching little description of how she and other women stood by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence when she led the protest of November 21. Mrs. Saul Solomon says:—

"We had a strenuous progress through the rows of police, blocking our way within a short distance from Caxton Hall; so we rallied round our leader, who from that time was roughly opposed, pushed back, hustled and harassed, as she quietly and persistently pressed forward. The more the uniformed men battered her, the greater were the efforts of her loyal band to cling to her, to vindicate her advance, and plead her case with her surrounding opponents, the regardless emissaries of the Government. Our hearts bled as we were ruthlessly torn away from our protecting hold of the heroic lady. . . . Our bruised spirits rose to the occasion. We would see this thing through; we would immediately enrol our names for the next militant call. Every check should be transformed into a propelling force to further the cause, 'counting not our lives dear unto us,' for her sake and that of our central ideal."

AN IRISH JUDGE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—With the imminence of Home Rule for Ireland it appears of special interest to record the opinions of the late Judge Shaw, K.C. (the late Recorder of Belfast, and a very eminent lawyer and brilliant scholar), upon the question of Women's Suffrage. In his "Occasional Papers" recently published, I have come across the two following passages which deserve consideration now when the inclusion of women in the electorate of a Home Rule Parliament is still a matter of grave doubt. In 1874 Judge Shaw (then a Professor in Magee College, Londonderry) writes thus to his old friend, minister and tutor, the Rev. James Rowan: "The Derry people are to have a new sensation on Monday evening. Three ladies are to address a public meeting in the Corporation Hall on Women's Suffrage. I fancy I see and hear your expression of disgust! I, you know, being a consistent democrat, go in for political equality in every form; and being a great believer in natural selection and the survival of the fittest, would leave women perfectly free to try any means of earning a livelihood they have a mind to. If they fail, theirs is the damage and disgrace; and I am not disposed to believe in the Protective system even here."

The second passage which attracted my attention, bearing upon the question which all members of the W.S.P.U. have so much at heart, occurs in Judge Shaw's paper dealing with the life and work of the late Henry Fawcett, at one time Postmaster-General. He says:—"Fawcett neither believed in the natural right of the people to govern themselves, nor did he believe in the superior political virtue of the people. His democratic principles were strictly utilitarian. He believed that no one class can be safely trusted to govern or legislate for all other classes for the simple reason that no one class can be trusted either to understand, or sufficiently to care for, the wants and interests of another. An unrepresented class is sure to be neglected both by legislators and administrators; because the natural selfishness and indolence of governors can only be overcome by the stimulus of responsibility and the fear of punishment. For this reason he (Fawcett) strongly advocated the admission of women to the suffrage, a measure opposed by such strong democrats as John Bright and James Mill on the ground that women have no interests so distinct from those of men of the same class as to need separate representation. Fawcett, following John Stuart Mill, showed, as I think conclusively, that men cannot be trusted to deal wisely and disinterestedly with the social and political interests of women any more than peers and millionaires can be trusted to deal wisely and disinterestedly with the interests of the working classes." (The italics are mine.) It seems to me that here, stated in a very concise form, we have the kernel of the whole matter of Women's Suffrage, the truth of which cannot be questioned by those who have studied the social and economic conditions of our time as they affect women, and especially women-workers. I might add that Judge Shaw's daughter, who edits the book, and affixes a biographical sketch of her father, tells us that, though remaining true to his convictions on Women's Suffrage, he felt himself in later years quite out of sympathy with the aggressive tactics of the Militant section of Suffragists. I venture to think, however, that Judge Shaw would have admitted that the question had progressed enormously since those days of 1874, when the advent of three ladies in Derry to speak on behalf of the Cause was looked upon as "a new sensation!" and that the strange fact remains that rapid progress and militant tactics have been contemporaneous.

L. A. M. PRIESTLEY McCracken.

THE MILITANTS.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Since the last demonstration by the Militants in London a lot of nonsense has been written and spoken by the "Antis," decrying Militant methods. My own opinion is that the success of the Cause is entirely in the hands of the Militants, and when reason and petition fail to obtain justice, as they have done, I do most emphatically believe in force and violence, regrettable as it is. No one is more averse to war and violence than myself; fighting is an insane way of settling a dispute. The only thing that justifies it is the sacred cause of freedom and justice—it should be war to the knife then. Women will have to fight to the last ditch to defeat this insane opposition—they must fight the imperfect sense of justice, prejudice, orthodoxy, custom, archaic ideas, and the deplorable lack of real and true chivalry. Archdeacon Wilberforce says: "Nothing is so difficult to uproot as inherited wrong-thinking, handed down through sub-consciousness and so become part of the mental equipment; reason and facts fall back powerless in face of it."

I honour these women for their pluck, their intense earnestness and nobility of purpose, and for their splendid effort in the cause of justice and purity, and a higher, nobler ideal of womanhood.

POINTE WRIGHT (M.P.U.).
Weekday Cross, Nottingham.

FROM A PAPER-SELLER.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I am writing to tell you of a very touching incident which took place at the fountain in Piccadilly Circus. I bought some flowers for a dear friend who was going to take part in the Demonstration in Parliament Square. When I paid for them I told the woman from whom I bought them that the flowers were going to a brave and noble lady who was going out to fight for those who were unable to do so for themselves—those, like herself, who had a job to make both ends meet even when they worked all day long. Her answer was the most beautiful I have ever had the privilege to receive in the course of our grand movement. She took a bunch of violets and said, "Please lady, give her these from me, and thank her for what she is doing for us poor women, and God bless her." I know that my friend will be touched to the heart by an act so graceful, so beautiful, and will be enabled to go forward even more courageously. Oh, it is worth all the sacrifice our brave ones make. Yours, etc., A. K. McL.

WHY THE FINE WAS PAID.

Mr. Mark Melford writes that he deeply regrets having been compelled, on account of the precarious state of his health and the fact that he was alone in the house, to pay his daughter's fine at Holloway on the night of her conviction. He writes:—"So heartily are we both in sympathy with your splendid Cause and so full of admiration and love of the (to me) tremendous revelation of feminine pluck, courage and calm determination that characterizes you all that I wish to join with my daughter in what I feel is the apology due to you and her brave sisters she left behind in prison for the unfortunate but unavoidable reasons that compelled us to show the white flag to the enemy."

A student correspondent of Sofia, Bulgaria, writes:—"I advertised a meeting to be held by permission of the rector in one of the lecture rooms of the University, from 6 to 7. The subject was 'The solidarity amongst women in general, and amongst women students in particular,' and only women students (of whom there are 1,000 this year) were invited. But here the men students resent being excluded from any lectures, and we found the room more than crowded with a mixed audience. I had to speak in French and to be interpreted into Bulgarian, and at the end a member of our Women-Students' Club explained how we hoped to unite in study and work for the common good; and several new members joined. There is a great interest in women's questions here, and a great need for fresh professions and occupations to be opened to women, medicine, dentistry and teaching being already overcrowded. We hope to have a public lecture from a student on Woman Suffrage, and smaller discussions in the club."

A correspondent sends the following description by a Doctor of Philosophy in Canada:—"At Calgary a pretty, fair girl of twenty, in quite a light English saddle, jumped with the simplest air in the world a 6 ft. barrier. Only one man followed; and, whilst the men stood in their saddles, lost stirrups, flew on the neck and even over the head of the horse, the seat of the girl was always equally natural and easy. No man rode so quietly. What a wonderful self-control this girl must have! Always her face had the same natural, nearly sweet, expression, never somehow cramped, like the men."

A correspondent sends the following quotation from a letter she received from Calcutta:—"Our Suffragette won the hurdle race at the gymkhana with the greatest ease last Saturday. You will be pleased to hear I am going to make some racing colours—green, with white sleeves and purple cap! I returned from the gymkhana with a very nice silver cup in the form of a rose-bowl."

A correspondent writes:—"It is interesting to notice that St. John of the Cross in his "Ascent of Mount Carmel," Chapter xxi., says that the soul "touched with the love of Christ" sallies forth in a garment of "three principal colours, white, green and purple, emblems of the three theological virtues, Faith, Hope and Charity," which he goes on to show "vividly represent the affections of the mind and secure it against the assaults of its enemies—the devil, the world, and the flesh."

A correspondent sends us a copy of a letter she has sent to the *Times*, pointing out that in consequence of their not mentioning the great meeting at the Albert Hall on Thursday, November 16, she will not renew her subscription.

A medical missionary in Nazareth, Tinnevelly District, writes:—"VOTES FOR WOMEN is eagerly looked for every week, and well read by two of the three only Europeans here besides myself, and passed on to friends. Very best wishes for the success of the Fête and Fair. I have sent what I could—very little, alas—and I shall be wearing my colours all those five days."

At a suffrage meeting held on the a.e. "Flintshire" there was a large attendance. For a moment the result hung in the balance, and then the officer on the bridge, who had been listening from above, and the stewards, who stood on a gangway below, both held up their hands, and the suffrage side won.

A shop assistant writes to suggest that Suffragists when shopping may, by wearing badges and extending the greatest courtesy to the assistants, win many of them to the cause.

A correspondent, L. A. M. Priestley McCracken, sends a sympathetic letter confirming the opinions stated in Miss Jane Craig's letter to VOTES FOR WOMEN, November 17, entitled: "The Compulsory Starvation of Irish Children."

A correspondent in Haggerston writes to inform us that small Suffrage gatherings are held at 50, York Hacking Road, N.D., on Sunday evenings.

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Hardly pictures are these in the sense of some action depicted, some dramatic scene or emotion visualised, for the figures are just embodiments of life, of being, not of action. Yet it is in the figure that to women should lie the chief charm, the intensified interest, in these days of women's great struggle for moral recognition. Mr. John's figures, as shown at the Chenil Gallery, Chelsea, are all women and children. Women of a distinct and beautiful type, women who rejoice in the beauty of life, regal women; children full of the joy, the spontaneity, the gaiety of existence. The exhibition consists of moderate sized paintings on panels and of drawings, and one is conscious of a rather mixed feeling with regard to the two processes. The drawings are so intimate, so personal and full of feeling, such beautiful conceptions of the woman's form and soul. They are full of music, the music of line. The paintings also vibrate in colour harmonies. The strong tones of pure colour strike the eye insistently, but the flat tones point more in the direction of decorative art. They lose a little of the human element which is so characteristic of the drawings. One misses, too, the sense of action; there is an absence of emotion, and one cannot help wishing that those vital moments of life and imagination of which one is so keenly sensible, might be manifested in such beautiful tones of colour and rhythm of line as those of which Mr. Augustus John is such a complete master. But in this age of degraded female form as shown in the majority of present-day art, it should be our delight to applaud the dignity and majesty of type as shown in these pictures at the Chenil Gallery. H. G. L.

ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

The next At Home of the Actresses' Franchise League will be held in the Grand Hall of the Criterion Restaurant on Friday, January 12, at 3 p.m. (Please note change of date.) Miss Winifred Mayo will take the chair. Mrs. Gilbert Samuel, Mrs. Percy Dearmer, and Sir John Rolleston will speak; and Miss Lily Brayton will be the hostess.

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AUSTRALIAN AND NEW ZEALAND WOMEN VOTERS' COMMITTEE.

On December 6, at the Austral Club, 45, Dover Street, Sir John Cockburn, K.C.M.G., addressing a large audience of his countrywomen, said, "It ought to be the pride of England, who had been the first to give representative institutions to the world, to extend her constitution in this direction instead of letting other nations take the lead." There was not a single argument against Woman's Suffrage. Lady Stout warned Australian and New Zealand women that they not only became disfranchised in England, but might, in certain cases, be de-nationalised also. It would be very serious for them if the new Imperial Naturalisation Act were allowed to interfere with the Naturalisation Acts of their own countries, and they must work to prevent this.

Suffragists desiring information as to the Conditions under which Women Work should read the columns of the

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CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

BARNET.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Sue Watt, 13, Stamford Road.
Members are reminded of the Barnet Hall meeting on February 8 at 8 p.m., when Mr. A. Jones, M.P., and others will speak. A members' meeting will be held on January 10, when a full attendance is requested.

GROVDON.

Office—50, High Street, Tel. 282. Groydon (Nat.).
Hon. Sec.—Miss Leslie Hall.

Members are asked to support Miss Brakenbury by their presence at the next meeting of the Thornton Heath Parliament in St. Paul's Hall, Thornton Heath, January 5, 8 p.m., when she will make a resolution. Tickets are 5d. each, and can be obtained from the Shop Secretary. Miss Janette Stear is warmly thanked for her touching and humorous speech on December 13. It made a deep impression. Much interest was also aroused by the experiences of militancy given by Mrs. Russell and Miss Julian. Promises amounting to £6 were given, and a good collection taken. Gifts towards a hamper for Miss Wallis, in Holloway, were received. A hamper will be sent once a fortnight, and subscriptions towards the expense may be sent to the Shop Secretary. Gratefully acknowledged: Mrs. Norfolk, 21 1/2; Mrs. Wood, 10s.; G. Green, 10s.; Anon, 10s.; Miss Say, 10s.; H. Anglin, 10s. The shop will re-open on January 4. A dance will be arranged for February 9; all information can be obtained at the shop.

FULHAM AND PUTNEY.

Shop—295, Fulham Road.
Hon. Sec.—Miss L. Gutten and Mrs. Roberts.
On Tuesday, December 19, a most enjoyable meeting was held at the shop to welcome Mrs. Richard, who took part in the recent protest. She gave a most impressive account of her experiences, and was followed by Mrs. Keeling, whose story of her prison treatment, even so recently as 1906, showed how much the Union owes to the women who went through a much a year or so ago. After the meeting a copy of "No Surrender" was presented to Mrs. Richard. Will members please remember the Jumble Sale on Saturday, January 13? The total receipts from the Old Folks' Stall were over £257.

WIMBLEDON PARK AND SOUTH WIMBLEDON.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Allan, Abbottsford, Woodside, Wimbledon.
A meeting was held on December 19 at Miss Allan's house, Abbottsford, Woodside, Wimbledon, at which a new local union was formed to work the above districts. The following committee was elected:—Miss Allan (hon. secretary), Mrs. Dicken (hon. treasurer), Mrs. Bather, Mrs. Dacre Fox and Mrs. Huggins. Miss Hicks, who presided in the absence of Mrs. Drummond, congratulated the new union on its committee, and expressed her confidence that, under their guidance, splendid work would be done. The Broadway meetings will start again to-morrow (Saturday). The secretary would be glad to have the names of any members able to undertake paper-selling, so that a new pitch may be started as soon as possible.

ABERDEEN.

Organiser—Miss Lillian Mitchell, Shop—7, Bon Accord Street. Hon. Sec.—Miss Emily Funnell.
Miss Mitchell wishes warmly to thank all those members who contributed so very liberally to the cake and candy sale on December 18. It was a great success. The amount—just over £20—has been forwarded to headquarters. On Monday, December 18, a public meeting was held in the Round Room, at which Miss Williams gave a very comprehensive address to a sympathetic audience. Dr. Lyons occupied the chair. The shop will be closed till January 5, with the exception of December 28, 29, and 30, for the sale of the paper.

BATH.

Shop—12, Walcot St. Hon. Organiser—Mrs. Mansel.
A very successful meeting was held at Shepton Mallet on Wednesday in last week. The hall was crowded, men standing in rows till the way down the gangway. Mrs. Mansel and Miss Douglas Smith had a very good reception. They explained Miss Mabel Copper's brave protest at Bath in connection with which she has been in prison in Shepton Mallet for the last month, and the reasons for militancy, to a very attentive audience. It is hoped to have other meetings in this constituency in the New Year.

BIRMINGHAM AND DISTRICT.

Office—57, John Bright Street, Tel. 1432 Midland. Organisers—Miss Dorothy Evans and Miss Gladys Hazel.

The office will be closed till January 8, except on Friday, December 29, when it will be open from 10 to 1 o'clock to allow members to procure their papers. The first weekly meeting will be held in Queen's College, on January 17, at 8. Speaker: Dr. Hamilton, Principal of Stanley Horticultural College.

BOURNEMOUTH.

Office—22, Old Christchurch Road. Hon. Sec. (pro tem.)—Miss B. Barry.
An At Home will be held, by kind permission of Mrs. Hume, at Freedom Hall, Loughtonhurst, West Cliff Gardens, on Thursday, January 11, at 4 p.m. The speaker will be Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck.

COVENTRY, LEAMINGTON, WARWICK, RUGBY, AND STRATFORD-ON-AVON.

Office—23, Earl Street, Coventry. Organiser—Miss Warwick.
Members will be pleased to hear that 1912 will open with a visit from Mrs. Pankhurst, who will speak at

the Bells Assembly Hall on Tuesday, January 22nd, at 8 p.m. Will every member surpass herself in energy and make this meeting a bigger success than any yet held in Coventry? Handbills will be distributed at the First Postponed Meeting of the Priory Bow Association Rooms on January 11. Will all members make a special effort to be present? Miss Mackwick thanks all the friends of the W.S.P.U. in Coventry who so generously helped her on her arrival in this district. Her opinion is poles apart from that of Canon Masterman, for she has found the Coventry people most sociable, and willing to help a newcomer in every way.

EDINBURGH AND EAST OF SCOTLAND.

Office—3, Matville Place, Queen'sferry Street. Organiser—Miss Lucy Burns. Shop Sec.—Miss E. Hudson, Tel. 2122 Central.

A number of members have kindly arranged to keep the shop open during the holidays. Will every member try to give a Christmas present to the Cause by securing one new subscriber to the paper? A Workers' Meeting will be held on Thursday, January 11, at 8 p.m., at 3, Matville Place; all members are cordially invited. Plans and suggestions for the New Year will be asked for and discussed. On Thursday, January 18, afternoon and evening, a Galop Chantant will be held in the Lauriston Hall, Lauriston Place. Miss Winifred Mayo (Maynards' Theatre, London) will recite. Members are fortunate also in having secured the help of Mrs. Waddell, Miss M. and R. Waddell, Miss Margaret Kennedy, Miss Kennedy Fraser, Miss Helen Fox, and Miss H. Grey Macfarlane. The drawing-room meeting mentioned in last week's report was kindly given by Mrs. Rainnie (not Bayleigh); pianists (not pianists) helped the success of the Christmas Sale. Mrs. Leigh thanks the Edinburgh members (through Mrs. E. Bullock) for the Christmas hamper sent her last week.

FALMOUTH AND PENRHYN.

Hon. Organiser—Mrs. F. Corbett, The Bungalow. Hon. Joint Secs.—Mrs. Passoe, Mrs. English.

Members will be interested to hear that Mrs. Pothick Lawrence and Mrs. Tuke will be staying at the Greenbank Hotel, Falmouth, from Friday, December 29 to January 1; and that Mrs. Mansel (hon. organiser Bath) will speak on January 10. Further particulars later.

Gratefully acknowledged: a Christmas present to the local Union of 10s. from Mr. and Mrs. Marshall, of Theodyn Bois.

GLASGOW AND WEST OF SCOTLAND.

Shop and Office—32, Sauchiehall Street. Tel. 518. Charing Cross. Organiser (pro tem.)—Miss F. McPhail. Joint Organiser—Miss Parker.

In addition to the many by-election meetings Miss Emma Wyke addressed interested audiences in Johnstone, Helensburgh, and Hillhead. Many thanks to Miss Paton for her valuable help in Johnstone, to Mrs. Allan, who, as usual indefatigable, was responsible for the At Home in Helensburgh, and to the Misses Robertson for their very successful drawing-room meeting.

ILFRACOMBE AND BARNSTAPLE.

Hon. Sec. and Treasurer—Mrs. de Santoy Newby, St. Mary's Broad Park Avenue, Ilfracombe. Hon. Lit. Secretary—Miss Ball, Nursing Home, Larkstone, Ilfracombe.

IPSWICH AND DISTRICT.

Shop—Dial Lane, Ipswich. Organiser—Miss Grace Rose, 25, Blantyre Street, Ipswich. Shop Sec.—Miss King.

Everyone will be delighted to hear that a reception is being arranged for Mrs. Pankhurst in Ipswich on the afternoon of Wednesday, January 17. Many thanks to all members who are very kindly getting out the invitations during the Christmas holidays.

LIVERPOOL AND DISTRICT.

Office—11, Bensham Street, Tel. 1. Hon. Royal. Organiser—Miss Davies.

There was a large gathering on Thursday in last week to welcome Miss Woodcock on her return from three weeks in Holloway. Mrs. Abraham, of Birkenhead, presented her with a gold bracelet and brooch from Liverpool and Cheshire members. The office will be open again on Tuesday, January 2, and on Thursday, January 4. Miss Craig will come from London to entertain those who intend taking part in the pageant. The Misses Stephenson are arranging a whale drive for January 15. Tickets 1s. 6d. may be obtained at the office. It is hoped that this will bring in a considerable sum to the Union, and all friends are asked to take tickets.

NEWCASTLE AND DISTRICT.

Office—77, Blackett Street, Tel. No. 2801. Central. Organiser—Miss Laura Alnmworth.

Members are asked to bring the paper before the notice of all new friends they meet during the holidays. A splendid hearing was given at the Working Men's Debating Society last Tuesday, the first Suffrage meeting ever held in the place. Members will be delighted to hear that Mrs. Pankhurst will visit the district in February, and will speak in Newcastle, Sun-

derland, and probably North Shields and Hartlepool. It is hoped that she will come again and visit South Shields, Hartlepool, and Darlington. The last meeting in the office will be on Wednesday, January 10, at 7.30. Special afternoon meetings will be held during January and February to bring new people into touch with the movement. The Jarow meetings will recommence on Monday, January 15. These will be one in Mrs. Crow's house in the afternoon and in the South Horns, Mechanics' Institute, at 7.30. These meetings will be held every fortnight. Mrs. Pinter (South Shields) is holding a meeting on Tuesday, the 16th. She will be followed by Mrs. Burcham, Mrs. Briggs, Mrs. Shattock, and Mrs. Bilton. The next meeting in the Victoria Hall will be on Friday, February 2. All members will be delighted at the Jarow I.L.P. (see p. 211).

YORK.

Organiser—Miss Kay-Jones.

The new office will open for office work on January 8, and will be formally opened at a later date. The organiser is anxious that the offices should be open daily at stated hours. Will members willing to help, by giving an hour a week, kindly write at once?

MEN'S POLITICAL UNION

FOR WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT.

Office—12, Buntingham Street, Stratford, W.C. Telephone—City 2874.

Hon. Organising Sec.—Victor D. Durn.

Attention is drawn to the account of the protest made by Mr. Hall against the sentence of two months hard labour passed on Mr. MacLougall (see p. 212). In reply to a letter from the M.P.U., claiming that these offenders should be treated as originating from a political motive, the Home Secretary has stated that he does not intend to use his powers in this direction, though giving no reason for his decision. The following donations are gratefully acknowledged:—

Already acknowledged	21,202	14	2
"G.P.D." for three signatures	5	0	
Miss J. A. Fishhill	5	0	
Miss K. Harris (as a mark of indignation at the outrageous sentence passed upon Mr. MacLougall)	5	0	
Miss Annie Helm	10	0	
O.G.W. (Christmas donation)	7	6	
Total	21,204	7	8

CATHOLIC W.S. SOCIETY.

Hon. Sec.: Miss Beatrice Gadaby, B.A. Hon. Trans.: Miss Monica Wharney.

Office—11, Blandford Street, Baker Street, W.

Members are asked to make known the new office address. Office hours, 5 to 6 p.m. on Tuesdays and Fridays, or by appointment. A series of drawing-room meetings is being arranged for after the holidays. Members willing to lend their drawing-rooms are asked to communicate with the hon. sec. as soon as possible. Funds for rent and office expenses are urgently wanted. Gratefully acknowledged for the campaign fund: Mrs. Raya, 1s. 6d.; Miss L. de Alberi, 2s.; Miss MacMahon, 2s. 6d.

IRISH WOMEN'S FRANCHISE LEAGUE

Office—Antient Concert Buildings, St. Brunswick Street, Dublin.

At the closing meeting before the Christmas holidays Mrs. Cousins (hon. sec. I.W.P.L.) presided, and criticised various statements made at recent anti-suffrage meetings, and explained that women adhered to their original demand for the vote under the same terms as "it is, or may be, granted to men." She congratulated the League upon having gained since the recent militant protest a hundred new members, and stated that more money had been contributed to the League funds during the month of November than in any previous month. Miss Hawker dealt with women's economic grievances, and said that the leverage of the vote was necessary to remove them. Mr. Sheehy Skelton dealt with Mr. Lloyd George's attitude towards the women's movement, and congratulated the militant movement on its firm stand at a time when other societies had been taken in by the Chancellor's plausible platitudes. In treating of the Insurance Act, he declared that it would be in the hands of women to wreck the measure by refusing to become Government tax-gatherers, and strongly advised resistance on similar lines to the Census resistance. An animated discussion on the Insurance Act followed. On December 18 a most successful jumble sale was held in the League Rooms. Thanks are due to all members and friends who made it a success by co-operation and generous gifts. Weekly meetings will be resumed on Tuesday, January 9.

The Universal Hair Co., 50-54, Foxberry Road, Brockley, S.E., have now opened a new West End Branch at the London Laurey, 135-136, Oxford Street, W. This company claims to be the cheapest house in the trade, and their workmanship is of the very best. They undertake ornamental hair work of all descriptions, and orders received by post have prompt attention. Their managers can always be consulted between the hours of 10 a.m. and 5 p.m., and on Saturdays from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. Otherwise their illustrated catalogue, which can be had on application, will enable those who cannot manage a private interview to satisfy their requirements by post.

MRS. MARY LAYTON, F.R.C.O.

Hon. Organist to the W.S.P.U.

Voice Culture for Singers and Speakers.

Private Lessons in Singing.

Singing Classes and Ladies' Choir.

Please Note Change of Address to

THE CHALET,

2, Fulham Park Road, S.W.

THE CHRISTMAS HAMPERS FOR THE PRISONERS.

Mrs. Marshall acknowledges, with many thanks, presents in food from the following:—Mrs. Littlejohn, Miss Abbey, Mrs. Diplock, Mrs. Sara Falcke, Mrs. Pratt, Mrs. and Miss Langley, Mrs. Holmes, Mrs. Terrier, a cake from a lady living at Wandsworth Common, Miss Forsyth, Miss Fletcher, Mrs. Kemster, Mrs. Keller and the Misses Keller, Mrs. Tomkins (two turkeys for New Year's Day), Mrs. Cecil Chapman (a cake), Mrs. Chalmers (Christmas cards), Miss D. C. Collier (plum pudding, etc.), Miss Hugolin Hawaii (plum puddings, jam, etc.). Contributions in money were kindly sent by Miss Allan, 2s.; Miss Edith Bushell, 3s.; Mrs. Gordon, 5s.; Miss Philip, 10s.; Mrs. Tew, 2s.; "Ex-prisoner," 4s.; Miss Ada Wright, 5s.; Mrs. Moore, 10s.; Mrs. Langham, 2s. 6d.; Miss Amy K. Roberts, 5s.; Mrs. Yates, 2s. 2s.; Mrs. Casey, 5s.; Mrs. Renny, 2s.; Miss Lawrence, 4s.; Mrs. Mason, 2s.; Mrs. Farmer, 2s.; Mrs. Strangways, 10s.; Mrs. Holiday, 2s.; Miss Enburg, 10s.; Mrs. Bowker, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Blandell, 7s. 6d.; the Misses Collier, 2s.; Miss Wharton, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Sadie Brown, 5s.; Mrs. Butler, 10s.; Miss J. Craig, 2s. 6d.; Miss K. Hatch, 2s. 6d.

Owing to the very generous response made to the appeal for the Christmas hampers enough will be forthcoming to send in cheering supplies for the New Year, and it is hoped again a week or two later. Two months in Holloway is a long time, for every week seems like a month! So any further help that friends would like to send will be very welcome from those who have not already helped and feel they would like to do something towards brightening even for a day the brave comrades who so patiently sit in their stuffy cells.

To take a pride in well-kept hands is now regarded as a matter not so much of vanity, but of hygiene. Ill-kept hands, and particularly ill-kept nails, are a great danger in the dissemination of germs. Well-kept nails make the hands pleasant to look upon, and a finishing touch is imparted by a little polish. One of the best and most easily used is Culton Magic Polish, which is manufactured by Thomas Belvoir and Company, New Southgate. The same firm manufactures the Culton Tooth Polish, which is very efficacious and pleasant to use, and we would mention also the Culton Jewellery Polish, which is valuable for keeping trinkets in good condition.

With the first day of the New Year there is a chance of getting good bargains for the readers of this paper. Messrs. Hyatt and Co., Ltd., 134-140, Oxford Street, are then beginning their great winter sale. A glance at the catalogue, which may be had post free, will show a large number of special bargains. Among them we may mention the long, knitted sports coats at a guinea, the well-cut Raglan sailor hat (such a relief after the huge ones to which we have been accustomed). There are bargains also in underwear, footwear, and fancy goods.

Thousands will be flocking to Olympia during the next few weeks to see the widely discussed "Miracle." They will find that the effectiveness of some of the scenes is due in a large measure to the introduction of highly trained horses and hounds. It is interesting to know that the horses are fed regularly on Molasses Meal and the hounds on Molasses Dog Cakes. These foods seem to be growing in popularity every day. It is claimed that they not only feed animals, but keep them healthy and eradicate internal parasites.

Iron has long been the sovereign cure for anaemia, but iron is not always easy to take, it is apt to injure the teeth and have other unpleasant effects. To minimise these while retaining the building-up powers of iron is the aim of the Jellik Company, 76, Finsbury Pavement, E.C., and they have succeeded in manufacturing "Iron Jellik," which contain iron in a form perfectly efficacious and yet easy and pleasant to take. Samples will be sent free to those who apply, mentioning VOTES FOR WOMEN.

QUALITY AND VALUE.

A perusal of the illustrated catalogue of the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Company—which can be obtained post free from 112, Regent Street, London, W.—con

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

Single insertion, 24 words or less, 2s.; 1d. per word for every additional word. (Four insertions for the price of three.) All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

MISS KERR (W.S.P.U.), has several umbrellas, a necklace, and a variety of other articles left at the Christmas Fair and Fête.

THE W.S.P.U. has for Sale a Microscope in Case and fifty seven slides. Offers invited.—Apply Mrs. Sanders, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

A NICE little bed-sitting-room, furnished, 7s. 6d. per week.—Mrs. Winter, 32, Doughty Street, Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.

BARON'S COURT, BOSCOMBE, BOURNE-MOUTH.—High-class Boarding Establishment. Moderate.

BEAUTIFUL, unique Residential Club, South Kensington.—Unfurnished Rooms; service (breakfast in own room); 10s. to £1 weekly; charming general rooms; exclusive use of one once monthly; meals optional.—Address, Hobby, 160, Piccadilly.

BOURNEMOUTH (near station).—Comfortable home for lady or gentleman of limited means. Reduction to married couple or sisters.—Alpha, P.O., Westmoor, Dorset.

BRIGHTON.—TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade, Good table. Congenial society. Terms 2s. to 3s.—Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

DEVONSHIRE, Homestead.—Sea Front, Exmouth. Winter terms, 2s. to 3s., everything included. Sunny southerly rooms. Extensive view. Hot baths, hot air linen cupboard. Good fires. Late dinner.

FOLKESTONE, Trevarr, Bouvierie Road West.—Board-residence or private apartments. Excellent position, close to sea, Land, and theatre, separate tables.—Proprietress, Miss Key (W.S.P.U.).

NORFOLK HALL HOTEL, 187, Euston Road, London, W.C. (3 minutes' King's Cross, St. Pancras, Euston Railway Stations). Bed, attendance, breakfast, from 4s. 6d. Breakfast served from 6 o'clock a.m. Open to non-residents.

SUFFRAGETTES, spend your Winter Holidays at SUNNY BRIGHTON.—Comfortable board-residence with Miss Turner, "Sea View," Victoria Road, Brighton. Nat. Tel. 1702. Terms moderate.

SUNNY PAIGNTON.—Ramleh Private Hotel. First-class cooking and service. South aspect. Extensive sea views. Separate tables, 2s. 2d. weekly inclusive.—Lady Manager.

TWO ladies (gardening, poultry farming) receive Paying Guests. Sunny house; good cooking. Near church, post station. Lovely country; good cycling; between Bournemouth - Salisbury. Winter terms, 2s.—Leslie-Carrington, Verwood, Dorset.

VEGETARIAN BOARD-RESIDENCE, temporary or permanent. Homely. Ladies and Gentlemen. Convenient situation. Room and breakfast from 3s.—Madame Vegek, 63 and 65, Hereford Road, Bayswater, W.

TO LET, Etc.

CHELSEA.—Furnished or Unfurnished Rooms, with or without attendance, for lady workers; terms moderate.—Box 224, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

CROYDON.—Trained nurse, residing best neighbourhood, desires to let Furnished Bedroom and Sitting-room. Opportunity for invalid. Terms moderate.—"Morton," 43, The Village, Old Charlton, Kent.

LARGE MUSIC STUDIO (32ft. by 16) to be Let for one or two days a week; fire; attendance; use of grand piano; near Gloucester Road Station.—Apply P. F., VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

LARGE ROOM to Let, suitable for Meetings, At Homes, Dances, Lectures. Refreshments provided.—Apply, Alan's Tea Rooms, 263, Oxford St.

LONDON, W.C.—Six good Rooms; upper part of house; very centrally situated; every separate accommodation.—Apply S., VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

MORSHEAD MANSIONS (off Elgin Avenue), Maida Vale, W.—A few Flats to Let in these popular Mansions, which occupy fine open position (facing Paddington Recreation Grounds). Five Rooms and Bath Room; rent £50 to £80 per annum.—Apply to the Builder and Owner, W. H. Pearce, Estate Office (on premises). There is a Restaurant in connection with these Flats, solely for the convenience of the tenants.

SUFFRAGIST wishes to find lady to share Comfortably Furnished Flat, January to July, close to Battersea Park.—Write Miss M. Tew, Upham Rectory, Southampton.

TO LET, furnished, from first week in January, studio. Top north light and west side light. Kitchen, bedroom and small garden.—Apply by letter only, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Box 226, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

PROFESSIONAL & EDUCATIONAL.

A DA MOORE gives lessons in Singing and Voice Production. Diction a specialty. West-end Studio. Visits Brighton on Fridays.—Address, 106, Beaumont Mansions, London.

A GNES FENNINGS, L.R.A.M., Solo Pianist and Accompanist, has vacancies for engagements and pupils, London and suburbs. Prepares successfully for examinations.—159, Croydon Road, Anerley.

A NSTEY COLLEGE FOR PHYSICAL TRAINING AND HYGIENE, Erdington, Warwickshire.—A full professional course in Lin's Swedish system of educational and medical gymnastics, games, dancing, swimming, hygiene. Girls of character and ability needed to train for a vocation which is vital to the physical and moral welfare of the Empire. Good appointments obtained. Send for illustrated prospectus.

E X-MATHEMATICAL. Mistress (ten years' public school experience) coaches examination candidates and backward pupils; recent successes; visits; receives.—B.Sc., 154, Hamlet Gardens, Ravenscourt Park, W.

G OD'S WORD TO WOMEN has never been a word of disapproval and suppression. The Bible encourages the development of woman and stands for her perfect equality with men, in spite of the teachings to the contrary. Do you wish to equip yourself for meeting the arguments of those who attempt, with sacrilegious hands, to throw the Bible in the way of woman's progress? Do you wish to know WHERE and HOW they mistranslate and misrepresent it? Send 1d. for 101 Questions Answered, a Woman's Catechism, prepared purposely to solve your perplexities.—Katharine Bushnell, Hawarden, Chester.

I F YOU WANT TO MAKE MONEY, take lessons (by correspondence) in Chocolates and Sweets (cooked and uncooked). For particulars and sample box, apply Mrs. Pain, Sunnyside, Rossall School, Fleetwood, Lancs.

M ISS HUGOLIN HAWEIS gives lessons in Speaking, Acting, and Reciting; 3 scholarships offered to be competed for December 1912; classes given in ozonized air at Eustace Miles' Lecture Rooms if desired; Brighton visited weekly.—Apply 8, Ainsworth Mansions, Chelsea.

D OULTRY FARM.—Vacancy for student. Incubators now working. Variety of breeds stocked.—Terms, apply M. and F. Spong, The Felbridge Poultry Farm, East Grinstead.

D OULTRY KEEPING.—A five weeks' course of instruction commences on January 16. Lectures and practical work.—For particulars, apply Lovegrove's Poultry Farm, Woodstock, Reading.

T O SUFFRAGIST SPEAKERS.—Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production, and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U. Speakers' Class, requests those desirous of joining her private classes or taking private lessons to communicate with her by letter to 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Israel Zangwill writes:—"Thanks to your teachings, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness, while my voice carried to every part of the hall."

T WELETH NIGHT.—W.S.P.U. Cinderella Dance (fancy-dress optional), Chiswick Town Hall, January 6, 1912, at 8 p.m. Suffragists and friends are welcome. Tickets: Double (Lady and Gent.) 7s.; Single 4s.; from G. Coombs, 98, Sutton Court Road, Chiswick.

SITUATIONS WANTED.

A LADY (German) of good family seeks a post as private secretary or companion. Has travelled a great deal and has knowledge of French and English. Good references.—Apply E. K., The Mansie, New Malden, Surrey.

YOUNG lady, musical, speaking French and English fluently, requires situation as companion; would travel.—Write Box 230, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

YOUNG LADY (24) seeks first post as Driver. Taken chauffeur's theoretical and practical course; driving certificate; experienced in outdoor and domestic work.—M. VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

SITUATION VACANT.

WANTED by Mrs. H. A. Archdale for first week in January, two women—relatives or friends preferred to undertake management of a household. Good salary.—Apply Miss J. Kenney, 45, Albert Bridge Road, Battersea.

BUSINESS, Etc.

A DVERTISEMENTS inserted in all PUBLICATIONS, HOME and COLONIAL at lowest office list rates.—S. THROWER, ADVERTISING AGENT, 20, IMPERIAL BUILDINGS, LUDGATE CIRCUS, LONDON, E.C. Established at this office nearly 30 years. Phone: 562 Central.

B USINESS ADVICE GIVEN on Investments, Income-tax Recovery, Partnerships, and all Financial or Commercial matters. Stocks and Shares Bought or Sold.—MRS. ETHEL AYRES PURDIE, Craven House, Kingsway, W.C. Phone 6049 Central.

JEWELLERY.

W HY Keep Useless Jewellery? The large London market enables Robinson Brothers, of 5, Hampstead Road, London, W., and 127, Fenchurch Street, E.C., to give the best prices for Gold, Silver, Platinum, Diamonds, Pearls, Emeralds, Silver Plate, Antiques, Old Teeth, etc., in any form, condition, or quantity; licensed valuers and appraisers. Telephone: 2036 North. All parcels offer or cash by return of post.

T HE W.S.P.U. has for Sale a Lady's beautiful Diamond Solitaire Ring, price £10; a handsome Pearl and Diamond Dress Ring, price £3.—Apply, Mrs. Sanders, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

DRESSMAKING, Etc.

D RESSMAKING.—D'ELLARDE, 48, Connaught Street, Hyde Park, W. Afternoon and Evening Gowns to order, 24ds. Blouses from 18s. 6d. Inexpensive fancy costumes carefully carried out.

D RESSMAKING.—"Patricia," 39, Hereford Road, Westbourne Grove. French style with excellence of cut and fit guaranteed; terms moderate; materials taken and renovations done during winter months only.

T AILOR-MADE COSTUMES.—Latest West-end and Paris styles, from 3 guineas. Highly recommended by members of W.S.P.U. Pattern sent on application.—H. Neilson, Ladies' Tailor, 14, Great Titchfield Street, Oxford Street, W. (near Waring's).

LAUNDRY.

A MODEL LAUNDRY.—Family work a specialty. Dainty fabrics of every description treated with special care. Flannels and silks washed in distilled water. No chemicals used. Best labour only employed. Prompt collections; prompt deliveries—Bulens, Crossy House Laundry, Reynold's Road, Acton Green, W.

O LD OAK FARM LAUNDRY, 3, Bloemfontein Avenue, Shepherd's Bush, W.

A Record.—Unsolicited testimonials received in one month.—Lbury Street, S.W., 16 November, 1911. "I am always glad to recommend your laundry, as it never fails to give satisfaction."

"I should like to say I am very pleased with work done and attention given."

"Had Grantham, 1 December, 1911.

"We shall not be in Town until after Christmas, when we will be very glad to return to the Old Oak Farm excellent washing."

"Lowndes Square, S.W., 2 December, 1911.

"The way my washing has been done is always beyond praise; I am more than pleased."—Mrs. Purdy, M.W.S.P.U., Manageress. Prices moderate. Original testimonials forwarded if required.

W HITE ROSE LAUNDRY, Kingston Hill. Ideal country laundry, three acres drying grounds, pure soap and unlimited water, grass bleaching, real open-air drying. Flannels returned soft and linen well aired.—Photographs and price lists on application. Manageress, Mrs. Carter. Phone, 382 P.O., Kingston.

ELECTROLYSIS, Etc.

A NTISEPTIC ELECTROLYSIS scientifically and effectively performed. It is the only permanent cure for Superficial Hair. Highest medical references. Special terms to those engaged in teaching, medical work, etc. Consultation free. Miss Marion Lindsay, 35, Cambridge Place, Norfolk Square, W. Telephone: 337 Mayfair.

E LECTROLYSIS and Face Massage skilfully performed; also expert Lessons. Certificates given. Special terms to nurses.—Address, Miss Theakston, 65, Great Portland Street, W.

E LECTROLYSIS skilfully performed. Ladies may be attended at their own residences. Special terms to assistants and Unionists.—Write, "Vivian," 15, Harewood Avenue, Dorset Square, W.

H AIR DESTROYER.—James' Depilatory instantly removes superfluous hairs from the face, neck, or arms, without injury to the skin. Of most chemists, or free from observation, post free on receipt of postal order for 1s. 3d., 2s. 9d. or 6s.—Mrs. V. James, 268, Caledonian Road, London, N.

TRAVEL.

P RIVATE SOCIAL TOURS.—Gentlemen and ladies; later, Italian Ladies, Russia.—Miss Bishop, "Haslemere," Wimbledon Park Road, Wimbledon.

HOME WORK AND PRODUCE.

H ONEY.—5 lbs. pure Honey, carriage paid, any address, 3s. 3d. Large quantities cheaper. Splendid value.—W. Abbott, St. Mary's Lodge, Woodford, Essex.

MISCELLANEOUS.

B ECHSTEIN Upright Grand Piano; great bargain. Satinwood Broadwood, nearly new; very cheap. Bluthner Grand; bargain.—11, Parkhurst Road, Camden Road.

B LOUSES.—B LOUSES.—Any number of Cast-off Blouses wanted. The extreme value remitted.—Miss Kate Cutler, 24, Sunninghill Road, St. John's, Lewisham.

D RINK SALUTARIS. Health-giving Tablet Water. Distilled. Absolutely pure and free from all microbes. Aerated or Still. Unrivalled for goit and rheumatism. Ask your grocer or write Salutaris Company, 226, Fulham Road, London, S.W. (mentioning this advert.)

E YEIGHT TESTED and Spectacles supplied at Hospital Prices. Recommended by Physicians. Promised results guaranteed.—1, E. Singer, 123, Marylebone Road. Hours, 3 till 7 (Fridays excepted); and at 88, Kennington Park Road, S.E. 11 to 1 daily.

F ISH.—Help those who help you. Give the fisherman a chance. Fish just caught, 4lbs. 1s. 8d.; 6lbs., 2s.; 9lbs., 2s. 6d., dressed; carriage paid by return.—Fisherman's Syndicate, 5, Pontoon, Grimsby.

H AVE YOUR OWN BOOKPLATE.—We can design and engrave a bookplate to incorporate your own ideas, crest, motto, etc. Artistic and original work, from 17s. 6d. Marvelous value. Specimens sent free.—Henry K. Ward, 49, Gt. Portland Street, London, W.

K NITTED CORSETS.—New invention, unbreakable. Lists free.—Write, Knitted Corsets Co., Nottingham.

M ONEY FOR YOUR CAUSE.—Save your Combing; 4d. an ounce given for them.—Dickner, 8, Old North Street, Theobalds Road, London, W.C.

O LD FALSE TEETH.—We give highest possible price for above. Offers made; if accepted, teeth returned. Dealers in old gold or silver in any form. Bankers references. Straight-forward dealing.—Woodfall and Company, Southport.

S HOPPING BY POST.—Private Stationery, Visiting Cards, Private Greeting Christmas Cards, Writing Albums, etc. Personal visit respectfully requested.—Direct Stationery Company, Vulcan House, 58, Ludgate Hill.

T YPEWRITERS.—Second-hand, good condition, every make cheap. Remingtons, Olivets, Yests, etc. Phone, Avenue, 6207. Est. 1884.—Machine Trading Company, 40, Gracechurch Street, London.


"VOTES FOR WOMEN"
TEA

1s. 8d. lb. 1s. 8d. lb.

Special Blends of China
Tea 2s. and 2s. 6d. lb.

The Woman's Press
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